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SEPTEMBER 3, 1976

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ON THE OLYMPIC WAR GAMES

NATIONAL REVIEW

Detente Adieu

DANIEL O. GRAHAM

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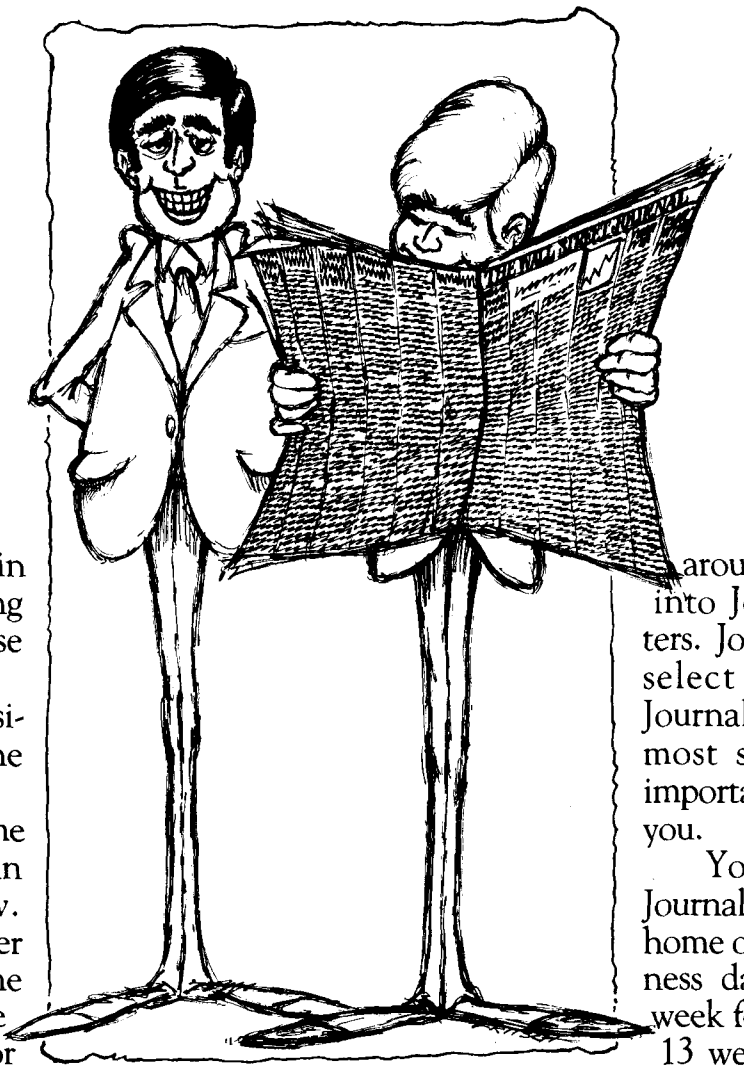

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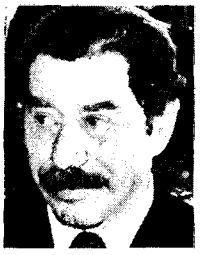

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Our current approach to relations with the Soviet Union is based on fallacious assumptions—about their strength, our strength, and our people. But pessimism is not the same thing as realism, and gloom may be as disastrous a delusion as false hope. Fortunately, there is a strategic alternative to fatalism, one that will enable us, as "detente" never can, to check Soviet expansion without precipitating nuclear war. It is based on the natural weakness of every tyranny.
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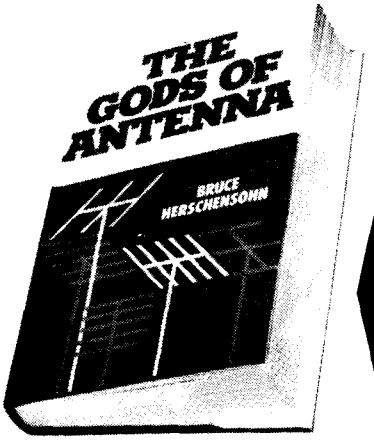

No matter how you feel about Nixon and Watergate, don't you think the media behaved outrageously? So does Nixon media expert Bruce Herschensohn.

For the first time in American history a President was hounded out of office before his term was up, and America lost its longest and costliest war. Why?

A powerful new institution – not in our Constitution, nor subject to the vote of the people—caused these shattering developments, says author Bruce Herschensohn. The "gods of antenna" control this quasi-government. It is centered in the three major television networks and supported by a radicalized film establishment and a gaggle of left-leaning newspapers and magazines.

As deputy special assistant to President Nixon and a specialist in motion pictures and television, Bruce Herschensohn was not involved in Watergate but had a front-row seat on the media blitz. His professional training helped him catch what untutored eyes missed: the *methods* used by the media manipulators to distort reality.

"No recriminations!" cried the commentators as Saigon fell and thousands of Cambodians had already begun their death marches. Only a few months before, these same commentators were indulging in their own orgy of self-congratulation over the fall of Nixon.

Mr. Herschensohn shows how the debacle of Southeast Asia and the abdication of Nixon were linked–by a pervasive bias which threatens America's future as a free country.

The author reveals how CBS was used by Hanoi as a propaganda outlet; how young Americans get a distorted picture of our country from New Wave films; and why every institution designed to protect our security is now fair game for the media.

If today's media had been around during World War II, asserts the author, we might well have lost.

The Founding Fathers could not foresee the day when a multichrome moving image would become more powerful than our elected leaders. That day has come. It is now time for a new American Revolution to overthrow this nonelected tyranny. Bruce Herschensohn, media expert, shows us how it can be done.

A Few of the Devices Used Against Nixon and Our Allies in Southeast Asia

- Use of the hold-frame against Nixon appointees
- Comedy-style reporting: how commentators downgrade politicians they hate
- Tragedy-style reporting: how TV over-dramatizes *certain* events
- Role of respectful and disrespectful treatment toward the President; toward draft dodgers
- Pretense balancing. How ten liberals and one conservative equals *balance* in the wonderful world of TV
- Tricks to make crowds supporting the President look small
- Repetition: key to media treatment of Watergate
- Examples of pro-Nixon stories killed by the networks
- Analyzed: the onesided coverage of Vietnam and Cambodia
- Story association and grouping: how this technique made *everything* Nixon did seem tainted
- Vietnam and Nixon: how the rules were changed in each case
- Crowd reaction. How its selective use became a key technique to color newscasts
- Facts that the newsmen conveniently forgot
- Examples of past events disguised as current news and used against the Nixon Administration

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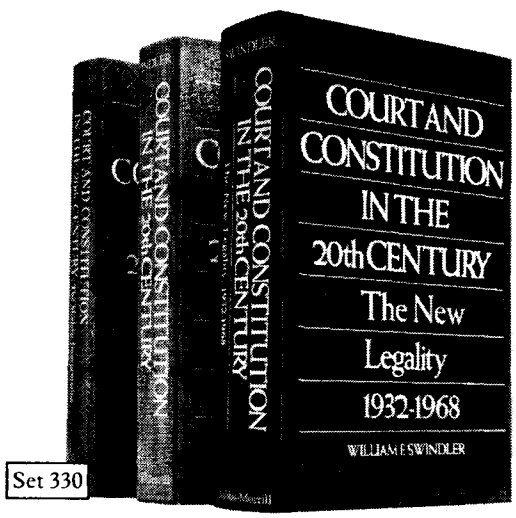

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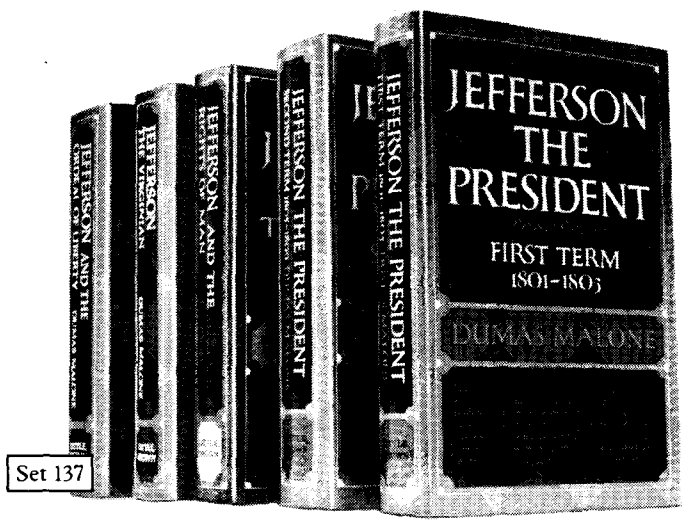

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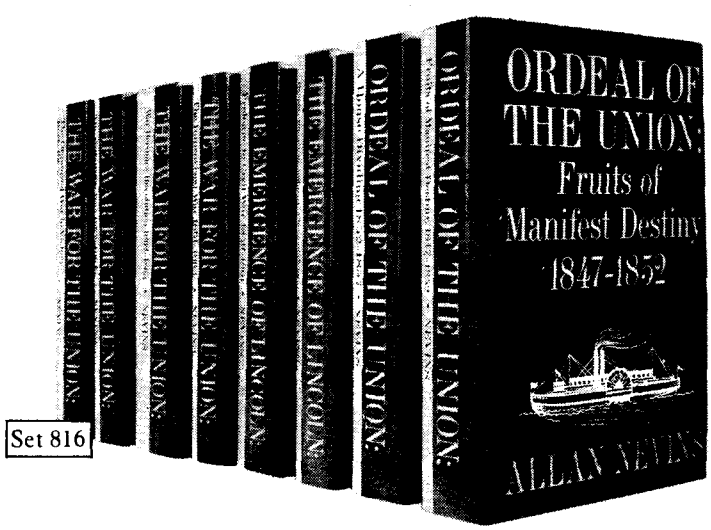

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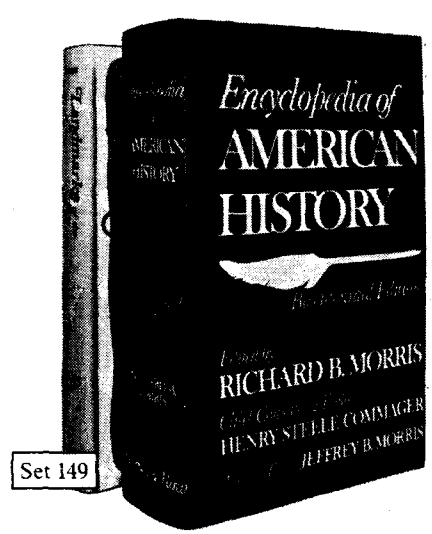

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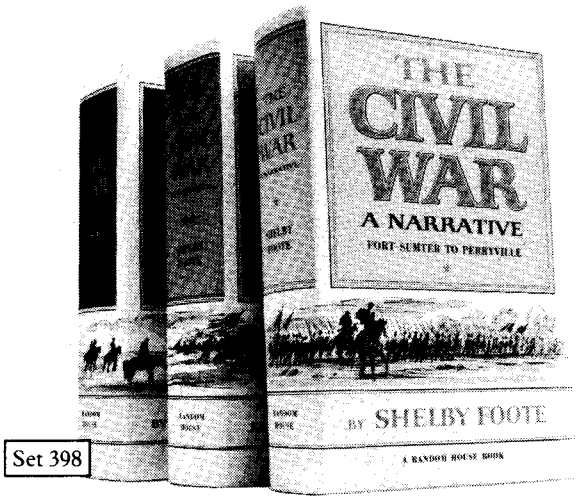

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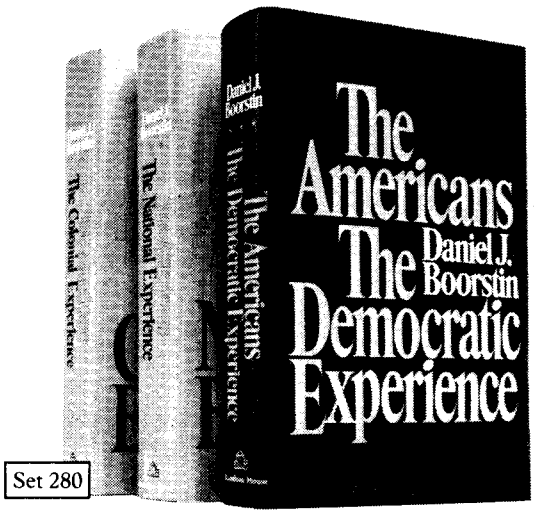

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Letters

Convention Congestion

The ten thousand reporters at the Democratic National Convention ["Jimmy Carter: How You Gonna Get Him Back on the Farm?" by James Jackson Kilpatrick, August 20], like the taxicabs in New York City, probably caused much of the congestion there—though it can plausibly be argued that we could not do without them. Certainly not without Kilpatrick, whose glittering account would have made me wish I hadn't wasted my time watching the Democrats on television, if I had wasted my time watching them.

I believe Kilpatrick to be accurate when he suggests why Carter (when will the kook Left start calling him Karter?) still might not win the election. But farsighted conservatives should not miss the related point that after a Carter victory over Reagan or Ford, the Carter coalition would crumble as the new President began transmogrifying rhetoric into reality. You can talk on both sides of the abortion issue; but it's hard to sign and not sign a particular anti-abortion bill. Ditto right to work (and amnesty, tax reform, military spending, bureaucracy, etc.).

So it will not be the end if Carter wins. Neither, on the other hand, will it be the beginning.

Washington, D.C. STANLEY HILLSBOROUGH

In his article on the peanut politician, James J. Kilpatrick forgets that there is a numerically significant McCarthy vote which will deeply wound the electoral body of the Democrats. It is latent but loyal, and it will grow as the campaign progresses.

Despite various polls showing a Carter slaughter of either Ford or Reagan, I do not discount a rerun of '48.

St. Albans, N.Y. TED TROUP

Adult Education

I think the news media, the Congress, and the public have been very unfair to Representative Wayne Hays ["The Week," June 25]. After all, he could have been going to Miss Ray's apartment twice a week to teach her to type.

Anyway, this would be just as good a story as the one Teddy Kennedy gave us about Chappaquiddick.

Cleveland, Ohio JACK B. JOHN

Hamlet of Arabia?

Aram Bakshian's review of the Mack book on T. E. Lawrence [June 25] was perceptive, and on the mark as far as it went. I remember when Richard Aldington's exposé of Lawrence first appeared, I asked a venerable and distinguished Arab gentleman who had actually ridden side by side with Lawrence if Aldington's picture of Lawrence as a compulsive liar and psychotic could be correct. Specifically, I asked about the factual accuracy of *Seven Pillars*. My informant said that any resemblance between Lawrence's memory and his own was purely coincidental. For instance, Lawrence's account of going into a town garrisoned by Turks and being taken for an Arab was ridiculous; any Arab would know Lawrence to be a non-Arab after no more than three words of Lawrence's very best Arabic.

It is surprising that Bakshian, in puzzling over the author's apparent reluctance to let go of the hero image of Lawrence, does not catch the mythic significance of Lawrence. Every intellectual, every symbol-spinner and scholar full of resentment and envy against the doers of this world, secretly suspects and hopes that he, as well as certain of his fellow-intellectuals, could beat the men of the world at their own games—and the ultimate game of non-intellectuals is war. To the generation of World War I it was psychologically necessary to believe that this kinky poseur with a streak of literary genius was a master of men and battles. The most recent example of the type has been Che Guevara. His has been a difficult case, of course, since it has been necessary to fabricate both intellectual quality *and* military quality. Nevertheless, posters of the failed bearded-one still grace the rooms of thousands of students convinced of their own superiority.

Whose picture will we find on the ikons of the next generation of Dostoyevskyan rebels?

Troy, Ala. JOHN W. BOWLING

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first two issues in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc. 1976.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept. NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

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It is often fun to read the polemics of a really good hater, but this is not necessarily the stuff of which good book reviewers are made—as witness Aram Bakshian Jr.'s piece on (or around) John E. Mack's new biography of T. E. Lawrence. Contempt for Lawrence should not lead one into contempt for real-life history of the Middle East in World War I. It is a fact that Lawrence, through whatever fervency or mystique, organized and rallied forces of the desert to knock Ottoman Turkey out of the war—when none of the giants of the West had yet come close.

Nor is it either fair or accurate to portray Lawrence as a kind of spaced-out guru of haphazard Bedouin banditos. Much of the operational planning for the British Foreign Office's Arab Bureau was his. He was an able and fearless commander in open battle, as at Wadi El-Hesa and Ma'an. Moreover, is it really such a psychic mystery that when all he had promised—all he thought the Allies had won for the Arabs—was later peace-pacted into a patchwork of European colonial duchies, he should withdraw from the world that had betrayed him? A Hamlet, maybe; but a "Garbo," hardly.

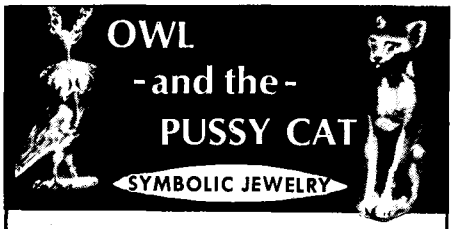
Finally, a not inconsiderable shortcoming of Mr. Bakshian's "review" is that he has not given us our money's worth. In a bilious essay covering most of a page he has devoted little over a paragraph to the book he ostensibly reviews! For a clue about what author Mack has to say about one of the most intriguing figures of the twentieth century, I am going to have to save up 15 inflated dollars, and buy the book.

Evanston, Ill. JACK ANGELL

Not Published in Paris

I read with interest Miss Linda Bridges' review of *Published in Paris* by Hugh Ford [May 28]. Miss Bridges failed to note, among the numerous defects she found in

(Continues on page 936)



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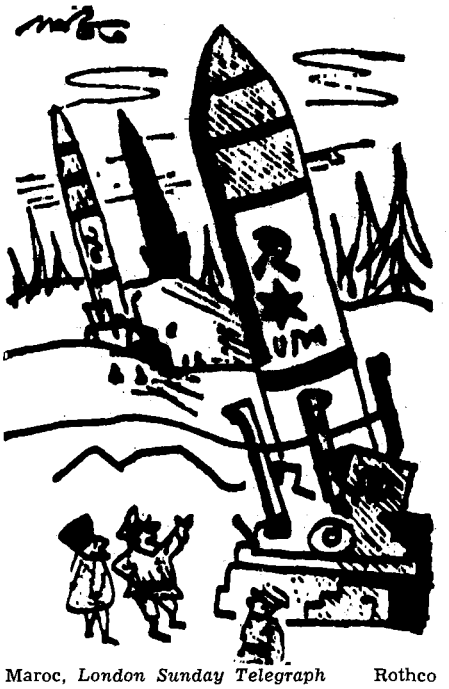
FOR THE RECORD

■ Just one week before Kansas City, the *Washington Post* contacted nearly 500 of the GOP delegates by phone and came up with the following fascinating insights on their vice presidential preferences then. **Richard Schweiker** was the first choice of only 2.6 per cent of the delegates at large; of only 5.6 per cent of the **Reagan** delegates. In a match against other prominent Republicans he finished ninth out of nine (just behind **James Buckley**). First choice was **John Connally**, but even he got only 15.2 per cent of the vote. . . . When asked who was their least favorite choice for Vice President, it was—and by several lengths—**Nelson Rockefeller**, wanted least by 21 per cent of those voting. . . . Feverish activity in **Ford** camp in week before the Convention included private meetings between White House Counsel **Philip Buchen** and **Leon Jaworski**, the final Watergate Special Prosecutor. The White House wanted to be absolutely sure that no as yet unpublicized Watergate dirt could wash off on John Connally. . . . *Daily World*, the Communist paper, had its own analysis of choice of Schweiker and of Schweiker's assertion that he would support whatever **labor plank** was put into the platform in Kansas City, "So long as labor does not have its own independent political movement, capitalist politicians will continue to use it as a political football."

■ **Jimmy Carter**, meanwhile, was piling up a mixed bag of endorsements and Bronx cheers. **Ralph Nader** found his positions on consumer interests "more admirable than those of any other presidential nominee in decades." . . . **Madalyn Murray O'Hair** (of the no prayer in public schools decision) found his position on abortion—he would do nothing legally to stop it—just right. . . . **Lester Maddox**, who has never liked Carter, was offering a new sandwich in his restaurant, the Jimmy Carter, "with a little peanut butter and a lot of baloney." . . . Pollster **Lou Harris** was himself less bullish on Carter than his own polls showed. Harris told columnist **John Lofton**: "Jimmy Carter hasn't proven himself; he's very vulnerable. Carter we find not an inspirational figure." . . . And Carter had made one major boo-boo. In a *New York Times* interview that was widely circulated, he commented that "the only person in the country who has a lower rating in the polls than Connally is Gov. **George Wallace**"—hardly a way to keep himself ingratiated with the man whose endorsement had done much to break the anti-Carter logjam during the primaries. And a man who still walks tall in the South. Carter subsequently apologized to Wallace, who was quoted in *People* as saying he had left New York City after the **Democratic Convention** with mixed feelings, "sort of like a father seeing his daughter come home at 4 o'clock in the morning with a Gideon Bible tucked under her arm." . . . And **Walter Glanze**, managing editor of the *Scribner-Bantam English Dictionary*, with an inflexible Sept. 15 deadline, has bitten the bullet. The *Dictionary* will show Jimmy Carter as the 39th President of the United States. Gerald Ford will be listed as U.S. President, 1974-1977.



Maroc, *London Sunday Telegraph* Rothco

"And this one, Commissar, with a fire power of 10,000 tons of TNT, we have named 'Detente' to commemorate the anniversary of the Helsinki Pact."

■ Of interest to the Right: Rep. **Phil Crane**'s brother, Dr. **David Crane**, will also be running for Congress in Indiana this fall, against Democratic Rep. **David Evans**. . . . **Maria Monplaisir**, well known to New York conservatives—she was a founding member of the Conservative Party of New York, worked on both the Buckley for Mayor and the Buckley for Senator campaigns—is going into politics herself, in Arizona, running for the state assembly against liberal Sister **Clare Dunn**, the first Roman Catholic nun to have been elected to a state body. . . . Private polls taken by Democrats in the complicated N. Y. Senate race show **Ramsey Clark** and **Paul O'Dwyer** getting nowhere and, surprising to many, **Bella Abzug** edging **Patrick Moynihan**. Last week Bella was endorsed by House Majority Leader **Tip O'Neill**. Winner will face James Buckley. . . . The indefatigable **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** will be back in the States lecturing in October and November (he can be reached for dates through *NR*). . . . The Senate has just confirmed the promotion of Gen. **Daniel Orrin Graham** (whose article is featured in this issue) to a retirement rank as Lieutenant General. . . . And in the House, the Armed Services Committee, in a fit of Bicentennial exuberance, has approved a bill to promote General **George Washington** (posthumously to be sure) to the rank of General of the Armies.

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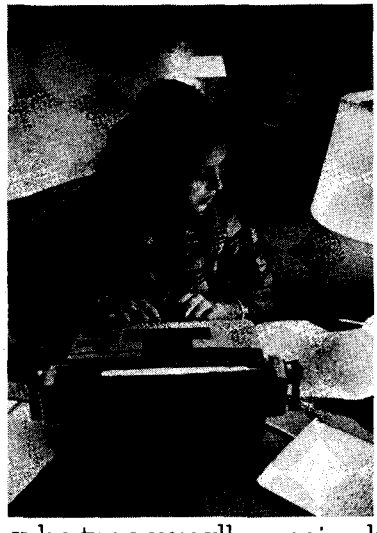

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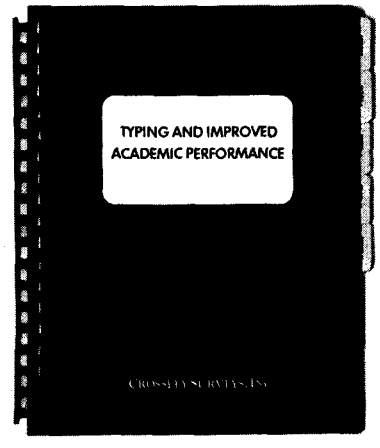

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THE WEEK

■ Pleased to report that the federal deficit for fiscal 1976 was only $68,000,000,000, or roughly the cost of a medium-sized war, and not the $77,000,000,000 estimated with unusual precision by the Office of Management and Budget.

■ When two souls meet: "Meeting with reporters before their private discussions in Carter's home, Nader and Carter stressed their basic agreement on issues affecting consumers, ranging from enforcement of antitrust laws to creation of a consumer advocacy agency in the government. At one point Carter noted that he and Nader 'share a common constituency.' . . . Standing with Carter on the candidate's front lawn, Nader said Carter's public statements on consumer issues have been 'better than [those of] any candidate that has achieved the nomination of any major party in recent decades.' . . . Jimmy Carter told a luncheon forum today that he hoped to challenge Ralph Nader soon 'for the title of top consumer advocate in the country.'" (From news reports on the Jimmy Carter–Ralph Nader fusion.)

■ And next it's on to Chicago, for the third-party convention of the American Independent Party and the American Independence Party, which will nominate a presidential and vice presidential candidate and appear on the ballot in all fifty states in November, it is claimed. The organizers, who include Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus, Richard Viguerie, publisher of the *Conservative Digest*, and William A. Rusher, present as author of *The Making of the New Majority Party* rather than publisher of *NR*, hope to get from 4 to 5 per cent of the vote this fall, according to columnist Kevin Phillips. But their plans don't end there. Viguerie says a call will be issued to prominent conservatives to meet in Chicago in December to form a new party—possibly to be called the Independent Party—that would field candidates in all 435 congressional districts and in the 34 Senate races in 1978 and from there, on to '80. It is the contention of the group that the Republican Party, know it or not, is dead and that all that remains now is to inter it and get on with the business of replacing it. The Independents hope in time to be *the* second, not *a* third, party.

■ "Despite propaganda about runaway government spending, real federal expenditures on goods and services declined 26 per cent between 1968 and 1975." So says Emile Benoit, professor emeritus of Columbia University, in a letter to the *New York Times*. Much of the growth in government spending has, of course, been at the state and local level—fostered by federal matching grants, the "tax effort" portion of the revenue sharing formula, and public service jobs programs. But Professor Benoit's fallacy runs deeper than that. Federal "expenditures on goods and services" are dominated by defense goods, and it is no secret that defense spending has declined in real terms since the peak Vietnam War year of 1968. Nondefense federal spending consists mainly of transfer payments, such as welfare and Social Security, and has increased at an annual rate of 9.5 per cent from 1969 to 1975—after adjusting for inflation. That compares with a 7.4 per cent rate from 1964 to 1968, and 6.2 per cent from 1961 to 1963. Someone should send this professor back to school.

■ Sighing heavily, Governor Michael Dukakis has agreed to extend Massachusetts' "safety upgrade" along its interstate highways—not because it really makes the highways safer, which he doubts, but apparently because it makes the state eligible for fifty million bucks from you know where. And a federal highway official has warned him that if he doesn't blow the needless allotment this year, next year's needless allotment will be cut off.

■ For those who feel some American politicians could use a lesson in foreign policy, Shah Reza Pahlavi's stint as Hubert Humphrey's instructor was most welcome. Humphrey's Foreign Relations subcommittee, with one eye on November, issued a report stating that we have sold immense quantities of arms to Iran without rhyme or reason. Newsmen in Teheran, in the presence of Henry Kissinger, asked the Shah what he thought of the Humphrey report. The Shah calmly explained that he prefers to buy arms from the United States, with which he has certain common interests, specifically resistance to encroachments on the nations and oil fields of the Persian Gulf by the Soviet Union and Soviet-backed Iraq; however, should the U.S. not be forthcoming, there are plenty of other countries that would be more than happy to accept Iran's money and oil in exchange for their arms. Iran, he said, is more competent to decide how many arms she needs than Senator Hubert H. Humphrey is, and, anyway, the arms are not U.S. gifts: they are bought and paid for. Furthermore, Iran has as much need, and right, to provide for her own defense as France, Britain —or the United States. The day after this press conference, Kissinger and the Shah announced that Iran would buy $10-billion worth of U.S. military goods over the next five years.

■ Even Pierre Trudeau couldn't wreck the Olympic Games entirely. The 1976 celebration had its share of unforgettable and heart-stirring moments. Still, the games took their distinctive character less from their stars than from Trudeau's cynical petulance: the oddly anomic perfection of gymnast Nadia Comaneci was typical, the few blazes of athletic heroism flaring incongruously amid the

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

"If you figure it all up and put out the figures, it sounds like you're crazy," says one official at the Republican National Committee. The problem: a wealth of figures growing out of the Democratic Party platform that just don't sound believable when translated into campaign rhetoric. The RNC has thus far done a detailed cost analysis of just ten of those proposals that Jimmy Carter has approved, among them the creation of a Consumer Protection Agency, national health insurance, railroad rehabilitation, housing subsidies, Humphrey-Hawkins, postcard registration. The total price, says the RNC, if each program were fully funded for four years, would work out to something on the order of $1.79 trillion. And this figure doesn't begin to take into consideration the cost of implementing the various programs for federal reorganization that could be expected to be put into place in the wake of a Democratic sweep. Among such schemes are Kennedy's plan to restructure the FDA into two separate agencies, one for drugs and devices, the other for food and cosmetics. If a national health insurance bill is passed, there will be a new Department of Health to administer it. Jimmy Carter is on record as favoring the creation of a separate Department of Education. And if welfare is totally federalized, as most liberal democrats favor, then there will be a flourishing new Department of Welfare. Thus, in one fell swoop, three new departments, each the size of the present Department of HEW. "I'm beginning to see what the Democrats mean by full employment," says one Washington newsman. "They're going to create enough new jobs here so that every American will be able to go to work for the government."

In the past week there has been a growing feeling in Republican circles that Jimmy Carter could be more vulnerable than he now looks. His lead in the polls is formidable, but Republican strategists increasingly believe he can be nailed to the planks of the Democratic platform if he is forced to justify the huge sums of money that will be required to convert those planks into programs. The figures are so mind-boggling, they believe, that Carter would be hard pressed to defend them with a straight face.

■ The energy issue promises to be central in the presidential campaign, and officials here see little chance that either candidate can come up with a comprehensive program that will move us toward self-sufficiency. We are now importing nearly twice as much oil as we imported during the crisis of 1973. The Saudis have held the line this time round, but are predicting at least a 10 per cent increase next year. A natural-gas price increase has just been blocked by the U.S. Court of Appeals, thus effectively killing any large-scale attempts to tap new reserves. Consumption of petroleum products is rising by about 5 per cent this year, and the ineffectual Federal Energy Administration is asking Congress for authority to set up an emergency gasoline rationing system. Carter had originally seemed to favor the development of nuclear energy, but because of pressure from Democratic liberals and environmentalist lobbying groups, he now says he rates nuclear energy beneath solar energy on his list of priorities.

Officials here take a dim view of solar energy, pointing out that it couldn't be significantly utilized, even under a crash program, until sometime well into the next century. The only hope, they believe, lies in a comprehensive program for developing coal and nuclear sources. But they also believe that neither stands much chance of comprehensive development, given a Democratic Congress heavily influenced by consumer and environmental lobbyists.

■ Congress crawls with divestiture bills, and Jimmy Carter's position on the issue is making the oil industry nervous. Carter opposes legislation, such as the bill currently before the Senate, aimed at breaking up the major oil companies by restricting them to one phase of operations. He is known, however, to be more sympathetic to horizontal divestiture, which would prohibit oil companies from engaging in the development of alternative energy sources. Given our increasing dependence on foreign oil and the possibility that even that oil will be exhausted by the end of the century, the oil companies have become increasingly involved in developing alternative sources. If they are legislated out of the business, they believe, those alternative sources won't be developed for decades.

—CATO

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ruins of sportsmanship where the host country forced them to occur. Many of the best athletes had been yanked home by pouting governments; some of those who remained disgraced themselves with public rudeness; the Russians, true to form, cheated.

■ Meet the future emperor of the World's Largest ex-Democracy: Sanjay Gandhi, 29-year-old son of Indira Gandhi. Sanjay has never held office, but he has, in recent months, been traveling around India promoting various of his mother's favorite causes: an end to the dowry and caste systems; an end to illiteracy; birth control (the slogan goes: "Happy man, happy life. Just two kids, happy wife"). Even as Mrs. Gandhi learned the business of politics, news reports remind us, from her father, Prime Minister Nehru, so Sanjay has become his mother's closest confidant since she became dictator. Asked whether he would run for office in the next election, Sanjay replied: "*If* there is an election, I'll answer that question."

■ Things are back to normal in Uganda. A peace accord has been signed with Kenya. And when one of Idi Dada Amin's sons complained that some classmates at Makerere University were laughing at him, Amin, who doubles as the University's chancellor, quickly moved to quell the disorder. Somewhere between twenty and 102 students were killed; 700 to 1,000 were injured; many coeds were raped, their breasts slashed with bayonets if they resisted.

■ Ralph Nader is suing columnist and *NR* contributor Ralph de Toledano for $1,005,000, on grounds of libel. According to Arizona's Senator Paul J. Fannin, reported

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the book, the inclusion in it of a lengthy article on the Seizin Press, located in London and Mallorca, never in Paris or elsewhere in France. The attempt was made to obscure the impropriety of the inclusion of the article in a book of this title by confining it within an appendix. The impropriety has depths.

As the first partner in this press, I was asked by Mr. Ford to assist him in the composition of an article on it for a book designed to be "a study of the Anglo-American private press movement," as it was described, while he was engaged on it, in a biographical note on the jacket of an earlier-published book of his, *Nancy Cunard: Brave Poet, Indomitable Rebel.* When I learned of the changed character of the book, long after I had contributed extensively to the composition of the article on the Seizin Press, my protest carried no weight with either Mr. Ford or his publisher: the article, it was represented to me, was of Mr. Ford's authorship, his to include in the book, and in any position he chose.

It is relevant to Miss Bridges' comment "But the prose is leaden . . ." to quote from a review of the book that appeared recently in the British magazine *The Private Library*, where the article first appeared, with my close cooperation with the editor, who had been wanting an article on the press, and with Mr. Ford. (In the book, Mr. Ford bypasses the courtesy of specific reference to the publication of the article in the magazine or to its editor's considerate treatment of Mr. Ford and myself.) The review is by the editor himself, Mr. John Cotton.

". . . There is a straightforward account of the Seizin Press, aided by the unacknowledged help of Laura (Riding) Jackson herself, which no doubt accounts for the improvement in prose style. . . . Though oddly out of place as the Seizin Press got no nearer to Paris than Hammersmith and Mallorca . . ."

Wabasso, Fla. LAURA (RIDING) JACKSON

Entebbe

In his "Reflections on Entebbe" [August 6], James Burnham—a writer I highly esteem—indulges in rhetoric and mauls the facts when he refers to the "self-serving Israeli statement of Amin's complicity" in the kidnapping of Jewish hostages and belabors the *New York Times* for accepting it "without proof or qualification."

The first evidence of Idi Amin's complicity came not from Israel but from the non-Jewish hostages who were released and spoke to reporters on their return to Europe. These hostages disclosed that Amin had 1) greeted the hijackers, 2) taken over the task of guarding the hostages—holding them prisoner while the air pirates had a good night's sleep, and 3) supplied the hijackers and those who joined them at the Entebbe airport with weapons and ammunition. These reports have since been amply corroborated.

By illegally holding the hostages, Uganda gave Israel full justification under international law to come to their rescue. At the very least, Amin was an accessory after the fact, and a good case can be made that he was an accessory before the fact.

Mr. Burnham is a student of history. Surely he must remember the occasion when President Theodore Roosevelt sent a gunboat to Morocco to rescue a Portuguese national under technical American protection whose kidnapper was being shielded by the Sultan. "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead," TR said—and the world cheered.

What troubles me most about Mr. Burnham's argument, however, is his contention that the "counterterrorist Israeli operation was itself a terrorist operation" and not a rescue mission. This suggests that resistance to terror, as an alternative to supine acceptance, is morally unjustifiable. Would Mr. Burnham argue that a shopkeeper who pursues an armed robber into the street and shoots him shares guilt for the felony?

If the word "terrorism" has any meaning, it denotes an act of violence perpetrated by clandestine forces against innocent people. The Israelis who descended on Entebbe were combatants confronting other combatants who had committed an act of war. To state that "terrorism is the continuation of war by other means" is fashionably cynical, but it serves only to justify what should be both repugnant and reprehensible to civilized people.

Washington, D.C. RALPH DE TOLEDANO

I share Ralph de Toledano's admiration for the Israelis' Entebbe operation. However, the aim of my column is analysis, not uplift. —JB

Olympian Pierre

Your statement ["The Week," August 6] that "if the Montreal [Olympic] games included a hypocrisy contest, Trudeau would easily take the gold medal" is wrong. Having lost his amateur standing some time ago, Trudeau would be disqualified.

New York, N.Y. BRUCE E. GOLDMAN

Rhodesia, South Africa, and Us

It is a perverse logic, indeed, to observe that terrorism is a global plague and hence conclude that the Rhodesian predicament isn't just a little more serious than the norm. William Rusher manages just such a connection in his August 6 "Open Question."

He informs us that it would take a Cuban expeditionary force along with some Russian "volunteers" to overthrow European rule in southern Africa. Just as it did in Algeria or Mozambique? The point is, no government or society can enjoy long-term survival without at least the acquiescence of the majority of its people. Soweto demonstrates vividly precisely what black South Africans think of apartheid. Rusher may get a charge from the image of an Afrikaner Prime Minister, Bible in hand, threatening to atomize Moscow, but there's no reason to think a real South African would be nearly so adamant. Since the collapse of the Portuguese buffers, Pretoria has been pressuring Ian Smith into an accommodation with Rhodesia's native majority, and has itself made moves, with some success, toward a detente with the black states to the north. One hopes, for all concerned, it can secure a detente with its own people.

Hillsborough, Calif. BRUCE NEULING

Since so much has been made around the world of the brutality of the South African police in firing on schoolchildren at Soweto who were demonstrating against the introduction of lessons in Afrikaans, it is interesting to note that of these "schoolchildren" ten were later charged. Four of them were in their twenties.

As to the reason for the demonstration, the introduction of teaching in Afrikaans, it is relevant that in the schools where the demonstration began, Afrikaans was not taught and there was no intention of teaching it.

London GEORGE EDINGER

Mr. Kissinger's self-righteous arrogance in dictating to Rhodesia and South Africa is exceeded only by his hypocrisy.

Before interfering in the affairs of other governments he should make every effort to force the United States to release from the thralldom of much-diluted white Anglo-Saxon rule not only the Panama Canal, but Texas, California, Alaska, and the entire Louisiana Purchase.

I failed to include Manhattan because I think the Indians have suffered enough at our hands.

Alexandria, Va. AMES W. WILLIAMS

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Hurry! Offer expires with this issue.

Memo to: All NR Readers

From: Jim McFadden

Re: an offer you shouldn't refuse

Bill Buckley asked me the other day how I thought NR's BULLETIN was doing on the election. I told him what I always tell him: the BULLETIN is the best darn newsletter in the country today, and it does fine on all the issues.

What he means is: Why don't all magazine readers get the BULLETIN too? (This has bothered him for years.) For that, I have no answer, except perhaps that it is just plain easier to sell a full-sized magazine (which is on newsstands, in libraries, etc.) whereas a newsletter is more of a personal thing -- you have to be introduced to it and get to know it yourself. By that standard, the BULLETIN must be the best newsletter in the country, because virtually everybody who does find out about it not only praises it but also keeps on getting it year in, year out. (The experts tell me our problem may be -- paradoxically -- price: most newsletters cost at least $25 -- or much more, often for a monthly; our fortnightly is just $14 for a full year.)

Whatever the reason, if you haven't tried the BULLETIN for yourself yet, now's the perfect time, smack in the middle of the most fascinating and vital presidential election campaign of our lifetime. The BULLETIN thrives on just the kind of inside news and behind-the-scenes information that you want right now (the kind of thing, as the Big Magazines say, that "makes you more interesting" -- try a few BULLETIN lines yourself in your next political argument).

The perfect time -- and the perfect opportunity. The card facing this page will bring you the next three fact-filled issues of our snappy 8-page BULLETIN for just $1. Right, one buck, (which is as low as we're allowed to go). It's got to be worth just one dollar to try the BULLETIN for yourself, surely -- especially now? Our reason for making this really special offer is obvious: we think you'll like it, and come back for more. But that's entirely up to you. You risk very little, and could gain quite a bit of valuable information, not to mention enjoyment (the BULLETIN is ideal for taking with you -- fits anywhere -- to avoid that frustrating time when you've got a minute but have nothing to read!).

So use the card opposite right now, before you forget? Just return it with one dollar immediately, and you should be in time for the next issue (I can't say it will be a "particularly good" one -- they're all good). You'll see for yourself why regular BULLETIN readers swear by it, and we'll be satisfied to know that at least you're not missing out on something you'd like simply because you never tried it. Many thanks.

J.P.M.

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in the *Congressional Record*, "The Nader charge of libel rests on one sentence in a Toledano column, published almost a year before the suit was filed. The sentence stated that 'Senator Abraham Ribicoff . . . not too long ago devoted some 250 columns of the *Congressional Record* to demonstrate conclusively that Nader falsified and distorted evidence to make his case against the automobile.' " The tendency of such a libel suit is to muzzle a columnist—since lawyers usually advise against further comment on the plaintiff, and since a syndicate hesitates to carry such comment anyway while a libel suit is in process. Senator Fannin points out that *Barron's* quoted the same Ribicoff speech to convict Nader of what is called the " 'big lie' technique." ("Though Nader protested a minor statement in the article," says Fannin, "he made no answer to that characterization—and *Barron's* repeated it on the same page as it printed his letter. Nader filed no suit against *Barron's*, perhaps on the theory that it was more important to silence Ralph de Toledano, as a warning to other independent newspapermen. This is what gives importance to the First Amendment aspects of this suit.") Defending a libel suit is an expensive proposition, and a Ralph de Toledano Legal Defense Fund has been set up in Washington. Meanwhile, the Corvair is no more, but America's most powerful lobbyist keeps careening along: at a recent hearing, Nader said in a prepared statement that the real issue in the air-bag controversy is whether Transportation Secretary William T. Coleman has the "guts" to stand up to the auto companies. Secretary Coleman—the nation's highest ranking black official—was not amused.

■ Representative Walsh of New York is, quite inexplicably, perturbed that the General Services Administration has ordered 107 aluminum flagpoles equipped with photoelectric triggering devices that automatically raise the flag with the first rays of the morning sun and lower it at night, folding it neatly in a box, and they were only going to cost $3,409 each including anodizing and freight charges, but the GSA reasoned that $10,000 stainless steel poles would save more money in the long run, and while they were thinking about it, the price of the aluminum poles rose to $4,000, or $8,940 with the electronic gadgetry, an irresistible bargain, so the GSA ordered that model, but with a manual override for $1,489 more apiece, in case the flag has to be half-masted unexpectedly if the President dies, and you'd understand if you had any idea how much the feds used to spend raising and lowering flags by hand, and never mind that President Ford just signed a law making it legal to fly the flag 24 hours a day in any weather, 107 flagpoles for only $10,429 each is fire-sale cheap.

■ Our Logician of the Week Award goes to Miss Ayn Rand, of Manhattan, who lately wrote to the *New York Times*: "I am profoundly opposed to Ronald Reagan. Since he denies the right to abortion, he cannot be a defender of any rights."

■ The Way We Live Now: A lady on our staff took her trusty old bicycle to a repair shop. The gears were slipping; could they fix? Sure, ma'am, they replied, but there was just one catch: since the spokes were rusty, they'd have to be replaced too, since federal regulations forbid repairmen to return a bike unless it is absolutely safe to ride. Moral: Everything Desirable Is Compulsory.

■ Sad to say that Mr. Peter C. L. Hodgson, who gave us Silly Putty, has passed away. He didn't invent the stuff, exactly—that was done, inadvertently, by some General Electric scientists in the course of trying to invent something else. But it was Mr. Hodgson who noticed that people liked to fondle and knead and stretch and flatten and bounce it, so he gave it a name and located a market; and left this world a slightly happier place than he found it. If that doesn't sound like much of an epitaph, consider whether as much will be said of John Gardner, Ramsey Clark, or Ed Muskie.

■ The Interstate Commerce Commission has trimmed the United Parcel Service's requested rate hike from 5 per cent to 3 per cent, on grounds that the company is already too successful. According to the ICC, not only does UPS not need the 5 per cent increase, "regulatory restraints become even more essential" because it has no competition. The no competition the ICC was referring to is the U.S. Postal Service.

Republicans: 1976

Accused, often enough, of "Caesarist" tendencies, Richard Nixon resembled the Roman strongman at least in this: his political demise on the steps of the Watergate Office Building left a political vacuum to be filled by a triumvirate. President Ford, Ronald Reagan, and John Connally represent different strands of the Republican present and possible future. By the time this issue of *NR* reaches most readers, the Republican Convention in Kansas City will have done much to clarify the nature of that future.

In many ways Gerald Ford represents the older Republican Party of the post-Civil War era. For generations, its electoral bastions lay in the Northeast and, especially, the Midwest—New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan. These former Republican bastions now rather resemble the beleaguered Fort Zindernouf in *Beau Geste*. Should Ford win the nomination in Kansas City, he will have to devise a way of reaching beyond the older Republican themes and styles and appealing to other regions, and to Democratic and independent conservatives. Much of his performance so far suggests that Ford, in the phrase of Thomas Wolfe, would prefer to go home again to the older "moderate" Republicanism of the Northeast and

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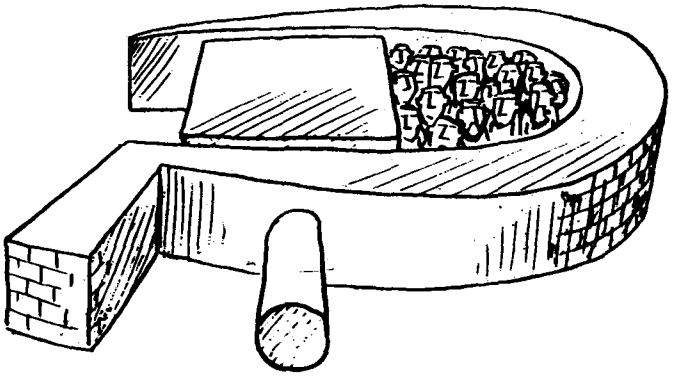
Midwest. There he would feel most comfortable. Thus, he might choose to run with Richardson, Scranton, or some cipher from the Great Plains or the Border States. None of that would have much meaning for the Republican future, and in 1976 it would virtually concede the election to the Democrats. Alternatively, Ford could choose to fight Jimmy Carter in the Sunbelt with supercampaigner John Connally, thus putting Connally, win or lose, in a strategic position to shape the future of the party. Or, thirty points behind Carter in the polls, Ford could try to rewrite the political equation by opting for a woman from Texas, Ambassador to England Anne Armstrong.

In contrast to Ford's Midwest-Northeast Republicanism, Ronald Reagan represents the powerful conservative movement that rose to dominance within the Republican Party during the 1960s. Its themes this year: strong defense, resistance to Communism abroad, limited government at home, and rejection of moral permissiveness. Whether or not Reagan wins the nomination in Kansas City, this 200-year-old Republic owes him an historic debt for the race he has run in challenging President Ford. Reagan has focused attention on the menacing strategic shifts in global power and on the obvious shortcomings of detente. He has taken strong positions against busing and abortion. It is perhaps symbolic that during the last days before the Republican Convention Secretary Kissinger contrived to be accomplishing one thing or another in Iran, Pakistan, and other distant locales and is not expected in Kansas City until late Wednesday night.

Mr. Reagan's stunning selection of Senator Richard Schweiker as his prospective running-mate, however, should be examined for its larger meaning, a meaning that goes beyond short-run tactical questions and issues of ideological contradiction. The Schweiker selection means that Reagan, a superb campaigner, could not win the nomination in the Republican Party with a campaign based on the principal themes of 1960s conservatism. Therefore, Schweiker's presence defined the practical limits of those themes within the Republican Party. Virtually all Republicans and millions of conservative independents and Democrats oppose the Federal Government on something like busing, but that does not necessarily mean that they desire severely "limited government" in all respects. Insofar as the rhetoric of 1960s conservatism conveys a severely "limited government" message, it appears to be electorally vulnerable.

During the past year, John Connally has been pursuing a variant of the Richard Nixon strategy of 1964-68. On the road almost continually, and an extremely effective campaigner, Connally has raised several hundred thousand dollars for Republican candidates. Even more important, he has demonstrated his effectiveness in places as far from Houston as Vermont and Long Island. Connally represents a third strand of Republicanism. He is a nationalist and a social conservative, but also a progressive in the Teddy Roosevelt sense, and he tends to see the government playing an activist role in the economy and in various other areas. He will be a presence at Kansas City and in the campaign to follow, whoever the nominee. He stands a strong chance of ending up on the ticket if Ford is renominated. Everything suggests, however, that Connally's most serious thoughts revolve around the year 1980.



Bas, *Tachydromos* Rothco

Smiling Damnèd Villain

In the July/August issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Phil Stanford takes on the man who promised never to lie to the American people. Well, hardly ever.

For six years critics of Carter's character have been pointing to a pair of dirty tricks he supposedly sanctioned in his 1970 gubernatorial bid: one, a leaflet showing his liberal opponent getting a champagne shampoo from a pair of black basketball players; the other (in the spirit of playing both ends against the middle), a series of radio spots for a minor black candidate who could be counted on to split the liberal vote. Carter has steadfastly denied these charges; but since February, Stanford notes, two former vice presidents of his Atlanta advertising agency have confirmed them.

More recently, when questioned on NBC's *Tomorrow* show about allegedly hefty corporate contributions to his 1970 effort, Carter responded that "nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records." After checking with Carter's old accountants, however, Stanford found that not only were records kept, but they were computerized and distributed in monthly printouts to all campaign managers.

The tone set by Carter characterizes the whole campaign. In response to a *Harper's* piece reporting that Carter had spoken at a 1972 rally for George Wallace, Press Secretary Jody Powell replied that his boss had only been "wishing Wallace a speedy recovery," and that all the money raised by the event had gone to medical expenses. In fact, says Stanford, "all proceeds went to Wallace's presidential campaign."

Such revelations must be particularly awkward, from Carter's point of view, because his principal selling-

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point (and, until recently, practically his entire program) has been his Galahad-like aura of love and trust. On grosser issues, Mr. Stanford finds Carter even more delusive: " . . . since [he] started running for President, he has changed his positions in significant ways on amnesty, capital punishment, money policy, busing, nuclear power, farm subsidies, cuts in the military budget, foreign policy (notably the Vietnam War), and revenue sharing." The Republican National Committee, which admittedly needs all the ammunition it can get, has been busily distributing copies of the Stanford article to editors.

Subsidizing Bad Policy

Those who sit like vultures waiting for some unfavorable economic news may take some comfort from the preliminary report of 7.8 per cent unemployment in July (despite an *increase* of 410,000 jobs). The figure is suspect, however, because of problems of adjusting for seasonal changes—such as students seeking summer work. Last October, for example, the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate originally showed an equivalent 0.3 per cent rise (though the unadjusted rate declined), but was later revised to show no increase at all.

Still, the July rise in the unemployment rate will surely foster all sorts of schemes to "stimulate" the economy by forcing it to digest billions in additional federal debt, and using the proceeds to subsidize some group that is likely to show its appreciation at the polls.

Jimmy Carter wants to "target" federal grants and spending to areas of high unemployment. Since federal money isn't free, this amounts to a transfer of wealth from communities that do a good job of promoting employment opportunities to those that do not. This might move industries and jobs from one area to another, but it would not affect the total. Cities and states with especially onerous taxation, destructive regulations, or militant unionism, are to be aided at the expense of others without such policies and practices.

The state of New Hampshire, for example, does a remarkable job of providing quality public services with modest taxation, as was recently documented in a study by Colin and Rita Campbell of Dartmouth, Vermont, on the other hand, has much stiffer taxes, a precarious debt position, and nothing to show for it. In May, unemployment was 4.2 per cent in New Hampshire, 9 per cent in Vermont.

New York City government spends twice as much per capita as does the city of Chicago (even accounting for overlapping governmental units, such as school districts). Chicago's unemployment rate was 6.8 per cent in May, New York's was 9.7 per cent.

Such comparisons provide little support for the idea that expanding state and local government employment is a cure for unemployment. Yet *Newsweek* claims that "It's unlikely that business alone can provide enough jobs." Of the 1,192,000 increase in payroll employment in the six months ending in June, a mere 72,000 were government jobs. The appropriate conclusion would seem to be that 1) any serious effort to promote employment must concentrate on private business incentives, and 2) Mr. Carter shouldn't listen to his new staff member, Jerry Jasanowski—the principal architect of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

More Strategic Concessions to the Soviets

Speculation persists that soon after the Republican Convention and prior to the November 2 election the U.S. will sign a new SALT agreement with the Soviet Union. (See James Burnham's column.) This agreement, it is further said, will severely limit U.S. deployment of the cruise missile—perhaps our most promising new weapon. In addition the prospective SALT agreement will not define the Soviet SS-20 missile as a strategic weapon. Critics point out that though the SS-20 falls just short of intercontinental range in its present configuration, it could easily be converted into a genuine strategic weapon through minor modifications. Moreover, the SS-20s are now being deployed on a mobile mounting, thus becoming immune to reliable surveillance by satellite.

These dubious concessions, apparently motivated by the desire to achieve almost any sort of agreement, come at a time when a virtual consensus is developing that the balance of strategic power has shifted to the point where the U.S. could be in actual danger. Thus, writing in the *Times* of London recently, the British defense expert, Lord Chalfont, observed as follows: "I am deeply sorry if I tread on anyone's dreams, but I feel bound to draw attention to the fact that the nuclear balance, always a fragile and uncertain edifice, is being demolished before our very eyes. . . . While the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have been going on, and partly as a result of American concessions during those negotiations, the Soviet Union has achieved a position of strategic nuclear superiority over the United States.

Decency Is Not Enough

Jerry Ford is decent;
  Jerry Ford is good.
Jerry helps old ladies cross
  At corners, as he should.
But upon a platform
  Beaming at the crowd,
Jerry rouses voters like
  A mummy in a shroud.

W. H. von Dreele

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"The nuclear balance ceases to exist when one side believes it has acquired the capacity to deliver an effective nuclear attack upon the other and survive the ensuing retaliation. My proposition is that the Soviet Union is resolved to acquire that capacity in the very near future."

Lord Chalfont is in no danger of being considered a Dr. Strangelove, and his conclusions are supported by serious analysts both here and in Europe. The publication *Foreign Report*, distributed by the British *Economist* magazine, goes so far as to state that the Soviets will possess valid strategic superiority by the end of *this* year. Soviet military journals make no effort to conceal the assumption that the USSR would *win* a nuclear war with the United States.

Why, then, the haste to enter into yet another potentially disadvantageous agreement with the Soviets, an agreement which could also tend to perpetuate the illusion in this country that the Soviets desire a genuine balance of strategic power?

Two imperatives appear to be operating. A new SALT agreement, signed with all the usual flourishes, will allow President Ford to appear presidential on a world stage and also—assuming Ford's renomination—focus attention on Jimmy Carter's lack of experience in world affairs. In addition, such a disadvantageous agreement would reflect Secretary Kissinger's often-stated and often-denied assumption that the USSR is the ascendant world power, and the power with which the United States must make the best deals it can get. It will not require many more such deals to turn Kissinger's dubious assumption into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers (II)

The editorial writers down at the *New York Times* have been really spaced out lately by Ronald Reagan, Young Americans for Freedom, that Bonzo monkey—like, you know, the whole conservative-extremist bit. They've been kept busy shoring up the Ford team on the editorial page like National Guardsmen sandbagging a Coney Island knish stand before a hurricane. But last Sunday they did a most interesting *thing*: they printed this long piece in the *Magazine* by this black conservative intellectual, Professor Thomas Sowell, an economist, arguing that busing and affirmative action are bad and anyhow, they don't work.

"How unusual is a so-called 'black conservative'? Not very. Being an exception to a media image is not being an exception in real life." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* goes the responsive Tiki-stick on the floor. "I know of no statistical research, or even casual observations, that would lead to the conclusion that so-called 'conservatives' are more content, complacent, or less outraged than people who carry the label 'liberal.' . . . A so-called 'conservative' is nothing more than a dissenter from the prevailing liberal orthodoxy." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* "Most black people oppose busing. . . . Busing is not a policy but a crusade." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* "The grand delusion of contemporary liberals is that they have both the right and the ability to move their fellow-creatures around like blocks of wood —and that the end results will be no different than if people had voluntarily chosen the same actions." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* "Blacks achieved the economic advances of the 1960s once the worst forms of discrimination were outlawed, and the only additional effect of quotas was to undermine the legitimacy of black achievements by making them look like gifts from the government." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* "If you go beyond the sweeping comparisons of 'men and women' that are so popular, it is clear that marriage and child-bearing have more to do with women's career prospects than employer discrimination. . . . But there is no crusade to mount, and no political mileage to be made, from advising women to go home and tell their husbands to shape up." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* "Should we do nothing? That is the bogeyman of unbridled discrimination that 'affirmative action' spokesmen try to scare us with. But we were not 'doing nothing' before quotas came in." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* " . . . The University of Michigan had to spend $350,000 just to collect statistics for 'affirmative action.' For all practical purposes, that is the same as being assessed a $350,000 fine without either a charge or proof of anything." *Baram-baram-baram-baram* "One of the reasons why many programs that don't work still keep going strong is that they sound so noble. Moreover, championing the disadvantaged is not only an inspiration but an occupation. To be blunt, the poor are a gold mine. By the time they are studied, advised, experimented with, and administered, the poor have helped many a middle-class liberal to achieve affluence with government money"—*BARAMBARAMBARAMBARAMBARAMBARAM!!!!* and that oughta hold *you* for a while, friends, and we'll be back *real soon* now, if you dig what we mean . . .

Sunset on the Potomac

The Senate Government Operations Committee has approved S-2925, the so-called "Sunset Bill." Under this proposal most federal spending programs would come up for review every five years, and if Congress did not at that time re-enact them, then they would be automatically terminated—fade away into the sunset, so to speak. S-2925 is sponsored by Senator Edmund Muskie, chairman of the new Senate Budget Committee, and it has 56 co-sponsors ranging across the political spectrum from Edward Kennedy to Barry Goldwater.

Ordinarily S-2925 wouldn't be given much of a chance of getting through Congress because each of the thousand or more spending programs has a constituency, usu-

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ally a highly vocal and organized constituency, or the programs wouldn't have been enacted in the first place. But Congress has been getting the message this year that the people are mad; that they want less Washington meddling in their affairs; that—horrors of all horrors—they may even be ready to throw the rascals out. A Sunset Bill on the books would make it easy on the individual congressman, who could reply to an interested party that if a particular program or agency couldn't make a convincing case to a majority of the Congress for continuance, then there is very little that he or she can do about it. This is another version of the zero-based budgeting concept that Jimmy Carter has already embraced.

If the Sunset Bill gets through both houses of Congress it won't mean that federal spending will grind to a stop—only an earthquake that swallowed up all of Washington could do that—but it could help weed out some of the more preposterous spending sprees.

Hardening Vatican Line

For a decade or more, in the spirit of aggiornamento, Vatican officials have been clinking cocktail glasses with Soviet and other Communist functionaries. The late Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, removed as primate of Hungary in deference to Communist sensibilities, was only the most prominent victim of detente between the Vatican and the East European Communist nations. Within the Church itself, particularly in southern Europe and in Latin America, Catholic clergy began openly cooperating with Communists and other Marxist revolutionaries, some going so far as to attempt philosophical syntheses between Catholicism and Marxism.

During the recent Italian elections, however, the Vatican shifted back to an explicitly anti-Communist line. As Dr. Johnson once observed, "When a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully."

The Vatican has also begun to take some firm steps against its own internal Marxists. Even as Prime Minister-designate Giulio Andreotti was presenting his minority Christian Democratic government, Pope Paul publicly "reduced to lay status"—defrocked—the most popular and prominent radical Italian priest, the Reverend Giovanni Franzoni. Father Franzoni had backed both abortion and divorce, had denied the authority of the Catholic hierarchy, and, apparently the last straw, had been touring Italy and urging voters to vote Communist. The Vatican has also been applying pressure to Jesuit Superior General the Reverend Pedro Arrupe to persuade him to de-louse his order of Marxists and Marxist sympathizers.

Almost simultaneously, and perhaps in a dialectically related fashion, the Vatican moved against the Traditionalist critics and near-schismatics by suspending the episcopal powers of Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, the superior of Ecône Seminary in Switzerland (see also p. 951). Archbishop Lefebvre had ordained 13 priests at Ecône according to the Tridentine rite, and has been presiding over unauthorized Latin masses elsewhere.

G. K. Chesterton once described the institution of the papacy as functioning, historically, as a kind of anchor that prevented the Church from veering too widely in any direction. Thus the Church had its Jansenists, but not its Calvinists, and it could accommodate an Erasmus but not the Pelagians. The simultaneous moves against both the Marxist and the Traditionalist extremes suggest that Pope Paul, not an especially strong pope, is trying to reassert the historic balancing power of the papacy. In any case, the belated hardening of the Vatican line against the Communists could constitute a substantial plus for the West.

"If there's anything worse than a male chauvinist, it's a male chauvinist transvestite."

Take a Look

It is a commonplace of psychology that we gradually stop seeing things that we encounter every day in our customary round. They become just part of the neutral background of existence; we no longer notice their specific qualities. Even when something unusual calls the normally unseen object back to our attention, it soon recedes into blankness.

At the Montreal Olympics there were five defectors. One was a young Russian. The other four were from Rumania.

During the same week an Italian truck driver drove a

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truck loaded with various products through a frontier checkpoint on a road from East to West Germany. When he had gone a few yards into West Germany he realized he had forgotten to get a necessary piece of documentation stamped. He stopped his truck, got down from the driver's seat, and started walking back to the checkpoint with the document in his hand. This was a transfer point for vehicles only. Without any preliminary challenge or warning, an East German border guard shot and killed him.

A couple of days later, a West German tourist named Willi Bubbers was casually strolling near the heavy wire fence between West and East Germany in Schleswig-Holstein. He had taken for granted that the fence marked the border. At that place, as it happened, the fence was in fact a hundred yards or so inside East German territory. He was shot by an East German border guard, wounded seriously, and taken off to an East German hospital.

Because the defections took place at the Olympics, they were noted by the media for a day or two and then dropped out of sight. The U.S. media ignored the border shootings altogether.

Let's stop and take a fresh glance with our mind's eye at these three incidents—long enough to *see* them, and the source from which they issue.

"Defect," "defector" . . . Where do these peculiar words come from anyway? When a person leaves his native country for a while, isn't he a "traveler" or "tourist" or something of that sort? When he decides to leave for good, that's his affair, isn't it? and then don't we call him an "emigrant"? Well, that's the way it is and has been in the case of all countries past and present—even Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany—*except* in Communist countries. If you leave a Communist country by your own choice you are a defector. *Defection*: pretty much the same idea as *escape*, as from a prison. And as a *defector* you become like an escaped criminal in the eyes of the warden.

And any infraction, however slight—by anyone—of the rules, even if unknown, governing the walls and armored gates of the prison is punishable by instant death.

This is *Communism* we are stopping to look at, to *see*. Keep looking for a moment or two. How do you like it?

Haute Couture

Yves Saint Laurent has spoken:
  It's leg o' mutton sleeves.
The skirts are dandy—if you go
  For bringing in the sheaves.
The waistline sports a corselet,
  Suggesting peasant shapes,
So hold your hats till Jackie O.
  Starts trampling on the grapes.

W. H. VON DREELE

Spanish Zig or Zag

Spain is not the first nation to find that the road from an authoritarian to a democratic regime is rocky. The Spanish Right drags its feet every centimeter of the way. The Center tries for a slow but steady progress. The Left demands full speed ahead and damn the potholes. On July 1, Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro unexpectedly resigned, apparently by King Juan Carlos' decision. On the 7th, Adolfo Suarez Gonzales was sworn in as replacement. Two outstanding members of the Arias cabinet, Manuel Fraga Iribarne and José Maria de Areilza—both liberal centrists committed to democratic domestic reform and to integration of Spain into NATO and the European Economic Community—angrily resigned from the government.

The 43-year-old Suarez has been close to Juan Carlos personally. He has been associated in the past with a small but influential group somewhat right of center. Like Fraga and Areilza, most commentators interpreted his appointment as a retreat from the fairly rapid liberal shift that they favored. This impression was strengthened when a number of conservative Christian Democrats, military men, and technocrats, some of them associated with the shadowy Opus Dei, were appointed to the new cabinet.

However, the developments of the past six weeks show that this estimate was in error. Both the juridical and the *de facto* steps in the legalization of political parties have been moving rapidly along, and an amnesty for political prisoners—except terrorists and advocates of terrorism—has been proclaimed. It would seem that Juan Carlos was not retreating from his promises of democratic reform by the rightward shift in personnel. Making use of a familiar political tactic, he evidently concluded, on the contrary, that the only way to swing the Right toward reform was by getting some of the people they trust to lead the way.

One crucial piece of unfinished business, however, still remains unsettled. Is the Communist Party to be included among the political organizations permitted to function openly and legally? That it should be has become the focus of a widespread campaign in which the Communists have enlisted not only much of the Spanish Left but considerable support in the West European socialist and social democratic parties. Much of the West European Left, in fact, wants to make it the test issue in deciding whether Spain should be welcomed in the EEC and NATO. Even so non-Left a commentator as C. L. Sulzberger, chief European correspondent of the *Times*, has apparently been charmed into support of Communist legitimacy by the head of the Spanish Communist Party, Santiago Carrillo. Carrillo has declared that he will return openly to Spain in the near future whether or not the Party is legalized.

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Although it is said that Juan Carlos would go along, it is probable that the Spanish military and traditionalists, not to speak of the Bunker, will draw a line on this issue, which may turn out to be decisive for the future of post-Franco Spain.

Notes & Asides

The curator of this department is on vacation. We are running in this space letters from our readers on the Schweiker choice which arrived too late for inclusion in the Letters to the Editor column.

Despite 28 years observing national and local political processes in this country, I confess to being unprepared for Reagan's selection of Schweiker. Who would have thought that an outspoken conservative would latch on to the only Republican hippie in the Senate?

Stephen J. Meyers, Millwood, N.Y.

Personally, Reagan & Rusher or Ford & Buckley would be my style. However, over the years I've seen the Republican Party under the aegis of conservative principles dwindle in strength to an alarming low. . . . It's a gamble. But as a conservative, I'll hold my fire until we see the whites of the Democrats' eyes.

Quoted by Agnes Booe in
The Sacramento Newsletter (August 4, 1976)

We are convinced that Governor Reagan had no choice. To win the nomination, it was necessary to reach out and select someone who could add the margin of victory that otherwise would be denied by the abused power of the White House. I am pleased to announce that the Florida Conservative Union reaffirms its endorsement of Governor Reagan and urges all conservatives throughout the nation to continue their support of his candidacy.

Mike Thompson, West Palm Beach, Fla.

I'd like to say a few words to some of the conservative GOP delegates. You can't have your cake and eat it too. By not getting behind your man early and solidly, you forced him into a coalition bargain. What did you think you could get? Both Reagan and Connally? The booby prize goes to the uncommitted Mississippi delegates, especially Representative Trent Lott.

Joylyn A. Hill, Denver, Colo.

The selection of Senator Schweiker as [Reagan's] running-mate is received, by [his] adherents in this politically significant suburb of New York City, as a decision demonstrating a leadership both creative and constructive . . . It is noteworthy that [the] invitation involved no compromise of any of [Reagan's] ideological positions.

Anthony J. De Vito, White Plains, N.Y.

Reagan is through as the leader of the conservative movement. If he's not, the conservative movement is finished as the potent force it has been the last few months. The philosophies of liberals and conservatives are completely incompatible. For a conservative to turn to a liberal to achieve his ends is like a Christian turning to an atheist to intercede with the Almighty to open the gates of heaven!

William McCollum Jr., Flemington, N.J.

I suppose he *could* have named John Lindsay, Lowell Weicker, or Bella Abzug. But Richard Schweiker? Reagan has forfeited all rights to his claims to high conservative principles by this raunchy display of political gimcrackery.

J. David Coldren, Chicago, Ill.

Where do you go from here? I wouldn't vote for Schweiker for dog catcher. There is no one whom I more thoroughly distrust or whom I view with more disgust. He is not only a radical liberal, but a nincompoop. I moved from Reagan's camp to Ford's and I sincerely trust NATIONAL REVIEW will do the same.

Frank Masland, Carlisle, Pa.

I am not sure which of Schweiker's images concerns me the most: the principled liberal with an 89 per cent ADA rating or the constituency-changing nonprincipled conservative.

Charles A. Nichols III, Needham, Mass.

What all of this proves is that William Rusher's call for a third party is not only an idea whose time has come, but and alas an idea for which the opportunity has been missed in 1976.

Jacob J. Petuchowski, Cincinnati, Ohio

. . . The Schweiker thunderbolt once again confirms Ronald Reagan's strategic edge over Gerald Ford. When the campaign for the nomination started, Ford, with all the resources and clout of the Presidency, was in an immensely stronger position than Reagan. But from the start Reagan has managed to keep the offensive. Ford has always been floundering on the defensive, forced to react to a Reagan initiative—on the federal deficit, detente, the Panama Canal, the arms balance, Solzhenitsyn, etc., and now this Schweiker operation. Whatever our opinion of each individual issue involved, Reagan's superiority as a campaign strategist means that he would have a much better chance than Ford to penetrate Jimmy Carter's weak points and throw him off balance. Ford would never get past the Carter smile.

Alfred Johnson, Colonel U.S. Army (Ret.)
Springfield, Mo.

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Midsummer Miscellany

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

CUANZA, ANGOLA. After extensive inquiry in southern Africa, Nicolas Ashford—a British journalist with long African experience—concludes: "There are many signs that the Angolan civil war is still far from over." In a dispatch published by the London *Times*, Ashford, basing himself on first-hand reports reaching neighboring black African countries, writes that "the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) still controls huge areas in the center and south and is reorganizing for a guerrilla offensive against the MPLA."

Ashford has interviewed Unita officers on visits to "a black African country" (the anonymity is deliberate), some of them recuperating from combat injuries. They insist that in the center and south "the MPLA controls the towns but we have the countryside." One officer named areas in which Unita forces were operating, ranging as far north as Mussende, to the vicinities of Silva Porto in the center, and the port of Moçamedes in the south.

Since independent journalists are not welcome in Angola, such reports cannot be confirmed in detail. However, the fact that the eastern section of the key railroad from Zaire's copper region to the Angolan port of Benguela remains shut down is presumptive evidence that there is some substance in the Unita claims. It is further known that Unita's president, Jonas Savimbi, its secretary general, Miguel Puna, and its military commander, Samuel Chiwale, are alive and with the forces in the Angolan bush.

In May the Unita leaders held a four-day conference in Cuanza, a town on the Benguela railroad. They issued a "Cuanza Manifesto," calling for an intensified armed struggle "against the regime imposed by Cubans and Russians." In July Savimbi sent out a report that his forces had cut the road from Huambo to Luanda and were preparing to attack both Huambo (defended by 2,000 Cubans) and the port of Moçamedes.

Unita sources state that food is no problem, since Unita controls Angola's principal agricultural area, that they have enough arms and ammunition at present, and that they can replenish stocks from captured MPLA weapons. They recognize they will have to get supplies from outside in order to drive the Cubans completely out. Where from? South Africa is politically taboo. Maybe something from China, or Zaire, which has not recognized and does not like the MPLA government. But the most obvious answer is the biggest question.

MAPUTO (formerly Laurenço Marques), MOZAMBIQUE. The shakiness of President Samora Machel's position is suggested by the fact that, for security reasons, he goes by helicopter each night to sleep on Inhaca island. His former colleague, Lazaro Kawandame, is leading a secessionist guerrilla force in northern Mozambique. A varied group of Mozambiquans, brought together by a former Frelimo leader, Dominjos Arouca, has formed the "United Democratic Front of Mozambique" (Fumo), which is reported about ready to proclaim a Mozambiquan government-in-exile, to be based for the time being in Paris. Fumo claims to uphold the political line of Frelimo's founder, Eduardo Mondlane, including Mondlane's insistence on a multiracial society. Fumo also mentions financial support from Western nations and organizations.

SALISBURY, RHODESIA. Although life in Salisbury is still outwardly relaxed and cheerful, there is one sign after another to remind white Rhodesians that they are living in a fortress under gradually intensifying siege. A governmental edict issued at the beginning of this month seems to have driven this point more deeply home than even the military callup and the casualty announcements.

From now on, emigrating whites can take out with them a maximum of $1,600 per family.

Everyone understands that this restriction confirms the severe and growing foreign exchange shortage about which the government publishes no statistics. This has been aggravated by the closing of the Mozambique border six months ago and a resulting overloading of the South African rail and port system. (Last month, for example, 16,000 tons of Rhodesian grapefruit were buried because of lack of transport.) David Young, Treasury Secretary, told a conference of businessmen that the country "could not possibly meet foreign exchange requirements" without access to foreign capital. Everyone knows that this is impossible without a political settlement.

However, a statistic of deeper human significance was responsible for the timing of the edict. In the first six months of this year Rhodesia had a net loss of 2,280 whites as against a net gain of 1,590 in the same period last year. Psychologically—as letters to the press have shown—the edict means to the Rhodesian whites that their leaders seek to lock them in. As one British commentator (Michael Knipe) put it: "The drawbridge has, in effect, been raised at fortress Rhodesia."

WASHINGTON, D.C. There are persistent and converging rumors that last month (the specific date usually mentioned is July 6) the National Security Council approved the terms of a SALT II accord with Moscow and that the text will be formally signed not long after the Republican Convention.

LISBON. Amalia Rodrigues sang again at the beginning of this month, and many Portuguese took this as the surest sign yet that their country has drawn back from chaos. Amalia is the best and best known singer of *fado*, Portugal's traditional song form. Her voice had not been heard since June 1974. Although she is unpolitical, the revolutionary regime, under Communist prodding, boycotted her (and even her recordings), charging she had "collaborated with the previous regime." The Communists also denounced *fado* as a symbol of Portuguese fatalism, out of keeping with the new age.

In her June 1974 concert she had, actually, included *Grándola Vila Morena*, the revolution's theme song. "I sing songs that please me," Amalia said the other day, "without asking whether they are revolutionary or not. Salazar did not invent the *fado*. It goes back five centuries." □

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AMERICAN STRENGTH, SOVIET WILL

Metternich's world still exists. Russia is a superpower equal to the U.S. It's either detente or nuclear war. Americans have lost their will. If you believe all this, you believe in detente. The author doesn't

Detente Adieu

DANIEL O. GRAHAM

As dissatisfaction with detente rises, its defenders speak more and more in the tones of defeatism. Pro-detente arguments have begun to run like this: "The Soviets are emerging as *the* dynamic global power, with dominant military power. We *could* offset this trend by strong military, economic, and political actions, but the American people won't support such policies. So our only hope is to decelerate our decline, i.e., make the best deal we can with the Soviets." If this argument is correct, then everything I say from this point on is shouting into the wind. But I don't think it is correct.

Underlying the current approach to the Soviet Union—the approach that has come to be known as detente—are some fallacious assumptions, which doomed it to defeat from its inception:

1. Nineteenth century balance-of-power politics are applicable in today's world.

2. The Soviet Union has attained equal status with the United States as a superpower.

3. The only alternative to cooperation with the USSR is nuclear holocaust.

4. The American people have lost their will to contain the expansion of Soviet power.

Careful review of these assumptions reveals that they are at best ill-founded and at worst defeatist. Further, it appears that foreign policy based on such assumptions is not "highly sophisticated," as is often assumed, but shortsighted and simplistic.

What is wrong with balance-of-power politics? Essentially, the problem is that there are only two powers to "balance." The United States and the Soviet Union are so powerful that the balance-of-power games played by Metternich in the first half of the nineteenth century cannot be played today. For such policies to work, there had to be several truly sovereign states in the world, each able to stand alone against the power of any one of the others. Metternich's world had such sovereign states, e.g., Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, England. It was thus possible to maintain the peace by changing combinations of cooperating states to prevent any one power from making excessive mischief within the general world order.

But Metternich's world no longer exists. Today only the USSR can stand alone against the power of the United States, and only the United States can stand alone against the power of the USSR. The USSR-U.S. balance of power remains the central, separate, and dominant factor in world politics today.

One of the reasons the U.S. came to embrace balance-of-power theories was the overstatement in the past several years of the trend to the "multipolar" world. In the late Sixties and early Seventies analysts in and out of government (the author included) emphasized the rise of power centers outside the U.S.-USSR axis. We focused too hard on the growing economic power of West Germany and Japan and on the challenge to the Soviets from Peking. As a result, we failed to remind ourselves that the main powers of the old "bipolar" world—the U.S. and the USSR—were still by far the dominant powers on the scene.

China was a special case. China was no more a "balancer" in the balance-of-power sense than other countries, but the Sino-Soviet split did provide the basis for new approaches to U.S. dealings with the USSR. The split involved territorial claims, military threats, and even race hatreds. It caused the U.S. and China to share a rather narrow but important range of interests vis-à-vis Moscow; neither country could countenance Soviet aggrandizement at China's expense. Washington's recognition that Peking could play an important role as checkrein on some of Moscow's global ambitions was the cornerstone of a new U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union. The policy involved de facto recognition of the People's Republic of China and tacit cooperation in countering Soviet ambitions.

This new U.S. foreign policy was a tricky course, but it promised considerable advantage to the United States, *provided* certain facts were kept in

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mind. The first was that the U.S. would have to retain its military strength and its will vis-à-vis the USSR: should the U.S. become a "paper tiger," the tacit agreement with Peking would dissolve. China's relatively small strategic power could never substitute for U.S. power. Unfortunately, the notion that the U.S. could and should ignore adverse trends in the military balance of power because the Soviets were positioning a sizable portion of their forces against China became a powerful weapon for the military budget cutters in Washington.

Chinese enthusiasm for the thaw waned as the image of U.S. power and will was tarnished by Watergate, the fall of Indochina, military budget cuts, and Angola. Peking's rulers sent Washington some subtle hints that U.S.-Chinese cooperation was not their only option. They suddenly released some Soviet helicopter crewmen whose retention in China had long been a bone of contention with Moscow; they surprised Western analysts by failing to give the premiership to Chou En-lai's chosen successor, Teng Hsiao-ping, allowing him to be branded "capitalist roader."

The second fact we could not ignore and still benefit from the Sino-Soviet split was that the Chinese Communist system is no more compatible with Western free society than the Soviet system. The big difference, making it possible to deal safely with the Chinese, is that they do not pose a direct military threat to the United States.

When we lost sight of the realities in the U.S.-USSR-China triangle, we also lost the limited benefits to the West inherent in the Sino-Soviet split. When we began to treat Peking as we have treated our NATO allies, Taiwan, and Japan, i.e., as if it had no real choice except to follow our lead, we endangered the prospects for continued Chinese cooperation.

A second assumption underlying detente was that the USSR had indeed achieved superpower status. This assumption is partly, but *only* partly, true. Superpower status can be measured against only one standard—the power of the United States, the acknowledged superpower of the free world—and the Soviets fail the test in some areas.

In comparisons of the power of nations, four factors must be considered: military capability, economic strength, political will and leadership, and moral strength (popular morale, if you like). While it threatens to match or overtake the United States in all four categories, Moscow has in fact achieved superpower status in only two. The USSR is undoubtedly a superpower in terms of military strength and political will, but *not* in economic strength and moral force. Furthermore, Moscow's two long suits are basically dependent on the two areas in which it is weak. Military power depends on a strong economic and technical base; political effectiveness depends on popular morale.

Administration spokesmen, including those in Defense, maintain that we have not slipped into second place, and, in the terms of the Soviets' being able to attack the United States directly today and survive the presumed retaliation, they are right. But in terms of capabilities to apply raw power to protect or promote interests in most scenarios not involving strategic nuclear exchange or direct invasion of the United States, they are wrong. They will soon be wrong about a usable superiority in strategic systems as well if the trends are not reversed.

The Soviets are headed for a combination of offensive nuclear power and civil defense which can make this frightful scenario a reality: The Soviets execute their civil defense plans and evacuate their cities. They then launch or threaten to launch strikes against all locatable U.S. nuclear strategic forces, and state their demands. In an exchange against population centers the U.S., having neither effective civil defense nor active ABM defense, is faced with suffering seventy to eighty million casualties (the Soviets would suffer no more than seven or eight million). The U.S. thus capitulates to the demands. Far-fetched? Not really, given that the USSR sustained 12 million casualties in World War II, having already killed six or seven million people deliberately in order to collectivize agriculture.

The USSR is ahead of the U.S. in strategic weaponry. U.S. technical superiority in some areas reduces the awesomeness of the bare figures, but in terms of sheer military weight, the Soviets have taken the lead

1. The Soviet attainment of military superpower status has occurred incrementally over the past ten years. The Soviets have come from far behind and forged ahead of the United States in strategic weaponry. In number of ICBMs they have moved from 600 behind to about 600 ahead; in Polaris-type submarines, from 16 behind to 13 ahead; in heavy bombers they have cut our lead from about 400 to about 300. In conventional-theater forces they have overcome a U.S. lead of about 2,500 tactical aircraft and now lead us by 350; in ground forces they have increased their previous lead by an additional 21 divisions. In surface ships, they have moved from 150 behind to 20 ahead of the U.S. The USSR has been purposefully devoting 20 per cent of its gross national product to arms for years, while the U.S. devotes 6 per cent—grudgingly.

These figures add up to overall military superiority for the Soviet Union. U.S. technical superiority in some areas reduces the awesomeness of the bare figures, but in terms of sheer military weight, the Soviets have taken the lead.

The Soviets did not achieve military superiority simply by pouring resources into military capabilities. They have poured inordinate sums into military forces ever since the end of World War II, with a cruel disregard for the welfare of their citizenry. But these efforts still left them behind the United States. Only in the past seven or eight years has the USSR has been able to reach its long-sought goal of overtaking us militarily. How? The U.S. *chose* to let the Soviets achieve "parity," and thus paved the way for Soviet superiority.

During Robert McNamara's tenure as Secretary of Defense a rather curious strategic rationale for letting the

Lieutenant General Graham (Ret.), a graduate of West Point, resigned his post as Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency on November 3, 1975, in protest to the discharge of James Schlesinger and William Colby. He is now adjunct professor at the University of Miami, working with the Center for Advanced International Studies.

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Soviets catch up was in vogue: It is fear of the U.S. strategic capabilities, it was argued, that might provoke a Soviet attempt at a pre-emptive strike; when the Soviets also achieve an "assured second strike" capability, they will hold enough of our population hostage that the urge to strike first will subside. This doctrine had the fatal flaw of putting into the Soviet mind the U.S. view that deterrence and *only* deterrence is the function of strategic nuclear arms. It never belonged there. As Deputy Secretary of Defense Malcolm Currie pointed out recently, the Soviets build all weaponry, including strategic systems, with war-fighting as the prime function—deterrence is a derivative function.

This deadly piece of mirror-imaging also affected U.S. reasoning on our vastly superior antiballistic missile system. It should not be deployed, one argument went, because it would "upset the strategic balance"; i.e., it would threaten the usefulness of the Soviet offensive system by removing much of the U.S. population and industry from their status as hostage.

This strange doctrine that all but halted U.S. efforts to stay ahead of the USSR might have died from exposure to the Soviet military build-up during the last half of the Sixties, but it was reinforced by two powerful factors: 1) the uproar over the Vietnam War that brought to the fore a substantial number of anti-military spokesmen; 2) the Left's demand for vast increases in federal outlays for social welfare programs. In the face of these pressures, military spokesmen who worried aloud about the trends in the relative balance of power could expect to be hooted down with howls of derision.

2. The Soviet Union, it is very clear, is no match for the United States in the second qualification for superpower status, economic power. Despite its abundant raw materials, the Soviet Union lags behind the United States in production of almost everything except armaments. Further, Soviet technology lags behind U.S. technology in most important industrial areas. The inflexibility of the Soviet bureaucracy makes the application of new technology to industries a ponderous and inefficient process. Soviet products are shoddy and services totally inadequate. Raw materials are the only true money-makers for the USSR in the world economy.

The Soviets compete with the West economically through destructive practices—not so much for the economic gain of the USSR as for the economic damage to the West. For instance, they carry freight on their merchant ships or even on the Trans-Siberian Railway for half the actual costs. This gains the Kremlin some hard currency with which to purchase Western technology, but more importantly, it drives "capitalist" ships off the seas because they cannot meet the unnaturally low Soviet tariffs. Meanwhile, the Soviet citizen bears the costs of these deficit operations in his dismal standard of living.

The Soviets are well aware of their technological shortcomings, but they have an answer for this too—imports of Western technology, the method that has prevailed since the Bolshevik Revolution. They prefer Westerners to build new plants complete with all the pertinent new technology, and then turn the keys over to the Soviets and go home. Further, they prefer the West to finance these enterprises with long-term credits. Who knows? If the revolution spreads far enough fast enough these loans may never need to be repaid!

Compared with the United States, the Soviet Union does not have superpower status in economic-technical terms. When the whole Soviet Bloc is compared to the West, the Communist side looks even worse. But modern military power springs from the economic base. How then can military superiority rise from economic inferiority? Two ways: 1) deprivation of the civil sector in favor of the military and 2) the lack of will to compete in military capability on the part of the economically superior power.

3. In the matter of purposeful leadership, the USSR definitely has the edge. The men in the Kremlin are not better, smarter, or more efficient than American leaders, but they are hard-nosed products of a dog-eat-dog political system who have risen to the top through the Party apparatus. Their main advantage is a shared set of well-defined goals for their nation and their system. These are embodied in the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It has been fashionable among the Western intelligentsia, in and out of government, to assume that ideology is dead, along with God. With ideology dead, it was widely assumed that the USSR was no longer interested in the global aspirations of the Communist credo. This view of Soviet intentions was and is fundamentally wrong. Communist ideology is the only basis for the legitimacy of the Soviet regime. The repression and deprivation of the people for almost sixty years can be rationalized *only* on the basis of the universal goals of Marxism-Leninism. The leadership in the Kremlin consists of convinced Communists, not nationalists paying lip service to the state "religion." They are true believers.

4. While we must grant the USSR superpower status today in terms of political leadership and will, a close examination reveals that this attribute rests on feet of clay. As with all other tyrannies, the Soviet tyranny bears the seeds of its own destruction. Absolutism and dogmatism generate demands for change. A Stalinist regime willing to kill six or seven million peasants and put twenty million of its best citizens

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in concentration camps can keep the lid on. But when an oppressive regime softens even slightly its rule by sheer terror, the seeds of opposition begin to sprout.

More important than a handful of dissidents is the widespread and rapidly growing cynicism toward the system among Russians in all strata of society, including the power elites. Soviet men of science and the arts, Soviet technicians and engineers, managers and university students, can no longer be totally cut off from Western ideas and from plain facts. The combination of gross bureaucratic inefficiencies and the time-consuming demands of ideological indoctrination and Party ritual turn large and growing numbers of them into cynics.

Recently a Russian-speaking U.S. visitor to Moscow overheard a conversation between some young Russians at an adjoining table in a restaurant:

"What ever happened to Alyosha?"

"Oh, that one. You know he could never succeed at *anything*. He tried to be an engineer, then a teacher, then a factory sub-foreman. He failed miserably at all those jobs."

"Yes, everyone knows that. But what is he doing now?"

"What else? He's in Party work, of course."

The cynicism, the questioning, and the dissent within the Soviet Union are reducing the numbers and absolute power of the ruling elite. The true believers in the Kremlin still rule, but with decreasing arbitrariness. They are slowly becoming isolated from the masses.

Compared to the U.S., therefore, the Soviet Union falls far short of superpower status in terms of popular morale and moral force. This can be easily overlooked in America as we emerge from a decade of irresponsible, nihilistic assaults on our own institutions. But the fact remains that the moral force of the United States abroad and the popular morale at home far exceed the USSR's. It is the Soviet Union that needs barbed wire and troops to keep its citizens from leaving and radio jammers to protect them from foreign ideas.

In sum then, the USSR's status as superpower is not proved. In military power and political will the Soviet Union qualifies; in economic power and moral force it does not. Of paramount importance to U.S. strategy is the realization that the first two factors of power are based on the last two.

The third fallacious assumption of the defenders of detente—that the only alternative to detente is nuclear war—has taken on the character of a slogan. This either-or formula is demonstrably false. We dealt successfully with the USSR for a quarter of a century without detente and without nuclear holocaust. We were too humane and too careful of our international image to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, and, because of U.S. superiority, the Soviets were afraid to initiate their use. Even today, we could break off all SALT, MBFR, and trade negotiations with the Soviets and abrogate the ABM and Nuclear Test Ban treaties and it would *not* bring on the nuclear holocaust. The Soviets, although stronger in strategic weaponry, still would be reluctant to risk starting a nuclear war. It is the nuclear power of the U.S., *not* detente, that has thus far ruled out the alternative of nuclear holocaust.

What about the future? Must we pursue detente or face nuclear holocaust in the future? Not at all. If the United States and its allies remain too strong for the Soviets to attack or threaten, there will be no nuclear holocaust.

In general, detente so far has inhibited the development of the U.S. military deterrent, while allowing the Soviet Union to forge ahead. This is due in part to the actual agreements with the Soviets, but more to the atmosphere created in the West. In order to pursue detente, Western statesmen must assure the citizenry that the Soviets are benign and pose no real threat. When, in the process of detente, our spokesmen bargain away important military advantages such as the ABM and the cruise missile, it is impossible for them to turn to Congress and insist on keeping up our military strength to meet a Soviet threat. In this situation, pressures to slash U.S. military budgets become irresistible. This was dramatized when President Ford had to fire either the strong advocate of detente or the strong advocate of defense. Secretary James Schlesinger's dismissal resulted.

If our defense concerns continue to be muted in favor of detente and the Soviets continue to pour 20 per cent of their gross national product into military power, we will one day face the impossible choice of surrender or nuclear holocaust. Our deterrent, the real protection against this situation, will have become too weak to work. It is true that even *with* detente we will retain Samson's choice—we can threaten to pull the temple down on our own heads. (And given our assault on intelligence capabilities, the U.S. might by then be just as blind as poor old Samson.) But just how credible would a suicidal deterrent be? How outrageous would a Soviet ultimatum have to be before we would use it? Because Soviet leaders may be asking themselves these questions in a few more years if the current trends in the military balance continue, the chances of nuclear holocaust will go *up*, not down.

What a shock it was when Solzhenitsyn, although treated like a pariah by the U.S. Government, was heeded attentively by the people. The American public, it seems, has more grit than its leaders surmised

The fourth assumption underlying detente is that the American people will support no approach to U.S.-Soviet relations more demanding than detente. The proponents of detente are wrong on this count too.

If Americans are willing to compromise with tyranny rather than resist it, they have certainly discarded their most cherished traditions. More likely, the architects of detente—both in Washington and in Moscow—misinterpret as a failure of will Americans' negative reactions to many years of fruitless international do-goodism and the inept, expensive application of force in Southeast Asia. Such a view indicates a poor understanding of Americans. They have never long tolerated a policy of compromise with a tyrannous hostile power.

It was with obvious consternation that the proponents of detente viewed the impact of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn on the U.S. public. In their view, Sol-

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zhenitsyn's message about the innate and unbending oppressiveness of the Soviet state was the sort of thing Americans would prefer to forget about. They believed that the public would turn a deaf ear, preferring not to be reminded of the nature of the system that, in the name of detente, they were accepting as co-guarantor of our own security and world peace. What a shock it was when Solzhenitsyn, although treated like a pariah by the government, was heeded attentively by the people.

The impact of Solzhenitsyn was followed by the uproar over the Schlesinger dismissal, the Angola takeover, and the Moynihan resignation. The public reaction added up to a demand for a new foreign-policy direction. Presidential candidates, including President Ford, recognized this and shifted ground on detente accordingly. The American public, it seems, has more grit than its leaders surmised.

Is there another strategy available that can check Soviet expansionism and at the same time ensure that the struggle does not end in nuclear war? There is. Further, there is a strategy that in the long run will allow the West to deal one day with a Russian leadership no longer dedicated to the destruction of our political and economic institutions. Such a strategy would be based on the fundamental truth that our political and economic system is not only the best but the strongest, and that the Soviet tyranny is vulnerable over the long haul to internal pressures for change.

We should coordinate our strategy and our hopes with the aspirations of the Soviet people, not with the strategic goals of our common enemy—the power elite in Moscow. Our every action should be designed to maintain or, better, strengthen the forces for change inside the Soviet Union. We should not allow the Kremlin to claim victory over the West in the Third World. We should not provide the basis for propaganda claiming technical equality with us in space through joint ventures whose success depends upon superior U.S. technology. We should not soften the Voice of America. If we sell grain to the Soviets, we should make sure that every Soviet citizen knows it.

This does not mean that we can have *no* dealings or communication with the Soviet government. Realistic dialogue with the Kremlin is not only useful, but vital. Arms control agreements should be pursued where the advantages for us are comparable to those for the Soviet Union, and where compliance can be verified. We should not forgo opportunities to avoid military costs when a reasonably commensurate degree of security can be achieved through agreement. Realistic dialogue, however, means that we should cease pursuing agreement for agreement's sake.

In reaching agreements with Moscow under the banner of detente, we have been playing United States aces on Soviet deuces and treys. SALT is a prime example of this. The only solid agreement we have so far sharply limits the deployment of antiballistic missile systems. We have no solid agreements limiting strategic attack systems. Why? The United States' ABM system represented technology ten or fifteen years in advance of the Soviets'. Soviet spokesmen have admitted the vast superiority of our ABMs. Moscow dreaded the thought of a United States able to assure its survival as well as to destroy the USSR. It was therefore vitally interested in an agreement on ABMs.

Moscow dreaded the thought of a U.S. able to assure its survival as well as to destroy the USSR. It was therefore interested in an agreement on ABMs. An agreement limiting offensive systems was another matter

An agreement on limiting *offensive* systems was another matter. The Soviets correctly perceived themselves as competitive in that area and were far less interested in an agreement limiting the numbers or development of their ICBMs. So they offered "deuces"—first an "interim" agreement in 1972 which easily accommodated their ongoing program to upgrade their offensive threat and, in 1975, the Vladivostok agreement to a ceiling which easily accommodates their current plans for future increases in their nuclear strike power while putting psychological and technical brakes on U.S. programs.

Another case of aces-on-deuces is the Helsinki agreement. What Moscow wanted most in the negotiations over European security was agreement by the United States and the West that the boundaries of the Soviets' East European empire were inviolable. The ability of the West to withhold such recognition was an ace. It was played on deuces—a basket of vague, easily circumvented agreements about confidence-building and people-to-people contacts across the now-legitimized Iron Curtain.

In all our dealings with the Soviets we must bear in mind that Communism will be defeated in the end *if we do not make it look successful.* We should never reach agreements with the Kremlin that permit it to say to the Soviet people, "See, the West has conceded us the position of dominant world military power! See how the power of the Soviet Union spreads unopposed around the world under our leadership!" If the Soviet power structure can make such claims and point to our actions and inactions as proof, our best hope—internal pressure for change—will go a-glimmering. Successful, expanding tyrannies garner support even from those they tyrannize.

To pursue a strategy which opposes and weakens Soviet power instead of accommodating and strengthening it requires greater sophistication, patience, and perseverance and more careful choices among national priorities by Americans. It requires a continued willingness to strengthen free men everywhere who are willing to oppose Communist tyranny. In concert with our allies, we must have sufficient military capabilities to back our diplomatic efforts and to make any military move against the United States or its allies obviously suicidal. It remains as true as ever that a man cannot be pro-freedom and pro-Communism—or even pro-freedom and neutral about Communism.

In sum, we should recognize that we are still in a struggle between incompatible systems which we dare not lose. We must keep faith with our dedication to free economies and free political institutions, and bank on the inexorable drive for freedom in the hearts of men—including the citizens of the Soviet Union. □

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LETTER FROM LAUSANNE

Monsignor Lefebvre's Dismissal

MARY MARTINEZ

IN LATE JULY the Sacred Congregation of Bishops, at the request of Pope Paul VI, suspended Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre *a divinis*—thus depriving the founder and superior of Ecône, the traditionalist seminary in Switzerland, of the right to say Mass or administer the Sacraments. In so doing, they took the last canonical step short of excommunication. And it might even come to that. Monsignor Lefebvre, for his part, has shown no sign of backing away from his position. He insists that he will celebrate a Latin Mass at Lille on August 29, as he had promised before the Pope acted. The *Times* of London reports a storm of protest among French Catholic traditionalists at the disciplining of the Archbishop and suggests that this "may be the starting point of a small breakaway church."

Each move and countermove since the struggle began in November 1974 [see also "Ecône—A Symptom," May 28, 1976] has only served to widen the breach between the two ill-matched contenders—the Vatican *v.* the Priestly Society of St. Pius X and its founder, Monsignor Lefebvre. By May of this year things had reached the point where Pope Paul dedicated a thousand words of his consistory speech to Monsignor Lefebvre, who, he said, "puts himself outside the Church," and Monsignor Lefebvre was insisting that he would ordain his graduating seminarians even though ecclesiastical approval had been withdrawn from his seminary. This would mean that the new priests would be ordained without the usual papal blessing, and bishops would be ordered not to accept (incardinate) them.

On June 29, the 13 sub-deacons and 13 priests were ordained. The old villa of Ecône with its modern annexes is situated above the village of Riddes in the wide valley of the Rhône. The Valais was dry and bare from the summer's unrelenting heat as the solemn procession, led by Seminarian Douglas of Allentown, Pa., made its way down from the school across a wide sweep of meadow to a newly built, peaked-roof altar space at the far end of the field.

Behind Douglas came the young men to be ordained; then their professors; followed by 81 priests in cassock and surplice, sympathizers from half a dozen countries; and finally, in full scarlet vestments and high gold miter, with his shepherd's staff glinting in the sun, the Archbishop, smiling and making the sign of the cross slowly to the left and then to the right while the crowd fell to its knees. They had come, over 3,500 people, from all over Western Europe. The chanting in Latin of the complete and ancient rite took four hours, and at the *Veni Creator* all the visiting priests filed up to the altar to lay their hands on each of the 13 who were becoming priests.

Monsignor Lefebvre spoke in resonant French. "These young men will not be presidents of assemblies. It is not true that a priest is a man like other men. He is a man of God and he carries the mark of his priestly character for all eternity. The priest is made for the sacrifice, the sacrifice of the Mass which has equal validity if he says it in private or before a crowd of a thousand. This is what we believe, and this is why we cannot accept the new rite which is the expression of a faith that is not the Catholic faith."

The Vatican, for its part, has never asserted that the practices at Ecône are not Catholic. What Rome asserts is that the Society of St. Pius X is disobedient. When the approval which had been given Ecône in 1970 was withdrawn in May of last year, Pope Paul wrote a letter to Archbishop Lefebvre answering the latter's request for a papal audience. Pope Paul wrote that he well understood what must be "the inner struggle of a man who will thus have to see his hopes destroyed and the work he undertook in good faith come to ruin." The audience would be granted, however, only when Monsignor Lefebvre made a public act of submission "to the Council, the post-Conciliar reforms, and the subsequent changes of direction to reject which is to reject the Pope." There was no public act of submission, although Archbishop Lefebvre wrote declaring his submission to the successor of Peter in his essential function, that of faithfully transmitting the deposit of the faith; and there has been no papal audience.

As the appointed day for this year's ordinations drew near, emissaries began arriving at Ecône from Rome—toward the last, one nearly every day. Said the Archbishop, "With pleas, orders, and threats I was told to cease our activities, not to ordain these priests. Finally one came who put the new missal in my hands and promised me that if I would concelebrate one Mass according to the new rite with him—just this one time and precisely at these ordinations today—then everything between Ecône and the Vatican would be resolved."

It would seem a dizzy drop from a demand for a public act of submission to the acceptance of a single Mass, but to Monsignor Lefebvre it amounted to the same thing.

THE LAST emissary from Rome was a Senegalese whom Lefebvre, when he was Archbishop of Dakar, had ordained a priest and consecrated a bishop: Hiacynthe Thiandoum, the present Archbishop of Dakar and, since May 24, a cardinal. Cardinal Thiandoum is known to have asked an audience with Pope Paul to beg him to change his attitude toward the man he calls his spiritual father, "the man who has done more for Africa than anyone living." After that audience he traveled to Valais to spend three hours with his old teacher the day before the ordinations. He did not attend the ceremonies, but he telephoned to ask if they had taken place.

The 13 young men of Ecône may well find ways to do what they have been trained and consecrated to do. A few Midwesterners could take care of the material needs of a young priest like Father Daniel Dolan of Detroit as he says Mass in a rented store or hall, just as the villagers of Riddes support their pastor, who must say the traditional Mass in an abandoned sawmill. But the larger issue is yet to be resolved. □

Miss Martinez is an American freelance correspondent who lives in Europe. She has written for The Wanderer.

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NEGATIVE PUSH-PULL

Social Concern and Tax Stimulation

SAMUEL W. GUNNARSON

WHEN I WAS first approached by a magazine editor to write a brief article for the layman on the tax stimulation theories elucidated by Professor Gold and myself, I had serious doubts. But he assured me that the recent awarding of the Nobel Prize to Dr. Gold and me had created some little popular interest in our contribution to economic theory, and he was in the end sufficiently persuasive.*

So with misgivings, and yet with high hopes for initiating a few of the public into that select group that can find excitement in statistics as they relate to large numbers of people, I have written this necessarily brief presentation of our work, attempting to achieve an acceptable balance of simplicity, lucidity, and completeness. I do not know how well I have succeeded.

Dr. Gold and I developed the essentials of the tax stimulation theory during the fall semester of 1967 in a veritable frenzy of activity. It was first publicly presented to a hushed and expectant audience of the European Economic Community in Lucerne, Switzerland during the Common Market economic conference of February 1968.

It seems appropriate to begin with the economic model devised by us to clarify tax stimulation. By way of explanation, an economic model is a largely empirical reduction and simplification of the vast numbers of economic transactions and relationships that intertwine to form the complex matrix of a socioeconomic structure. An economic model serves an exceptionally valuable function in that it is a *mathematically approachable* general statement of events.

Having once laid the groundwork, so to speak, we shall then treat our model mathematically—using the powerful tools of statistics, differential equations, and the high-speed electronic computer. These shall prove to be tools so potent that we economists are sometimes led into areas that seemingly contradict what is generally held to be common sense by the public, but which so often shows itself to be misconception and oversimplification.

What is our purpose in all of this?

From our mathematical treatment of the economic model, we are enabled both to forecast socioeconomic conditions and to determine factors *that influence them,* as well as their *degree of influence.*

It will surely come as a shock to some, then, that we economists realistically appraise the uncertainties inherent in economic forecasting, this challenge being perhaps one of the fascinations of the discipline.

AN ECONOMIC model, such as the model of tax stimulation, cannot, of course, take into account every conceivable factor that influences each substratum of the socioeconomic matrix, but does this mean that we shall experience difficulty in predicting and controlling the economic future? This will necessarily depend on the correctness of our model. A successful model embodies a *sufficient number of parameters* that future economic events can indeed be predicted—often with uncanny accuracy.

An economic model is, as it were, an empirical, living creation; and to the extent that it fails in prediction, we add qualifications, graphs, tables, formulae, etc. until we attain a reasonable degree of confidence. The economist constantly hones and refines his theories. I think it can be positively asserted that the following model of tax stimulation has been well supported by empirical data ever since its conception in 1967.

A knee-jerk liberal was walking with a well-scrubbed middle-class type when they came upon a wretched, unshaven, dribbling cripple starving in the gutter in indescribable misery. The liberal was deeply moved. Piously, he turned to his companion. "Surely," he said, "no decent human being could be so unmoved by this suffering that he would not share a small fraction of his wealth to improve the wretch's condition!"

So saying, he grasped his companion's wallet, and removed half the contents; but alas, though he moved with the speed of a striking cobra, by the time he turned around to disburse the revenue, an enterprising wino from across the alley had left his dishwashing job to crawl into the gutter and insistently demand his share.

The liberal scratched his head in thought for a moment, then turned again to his companion.

"NO, NO, get away from me," whimpered the middle-class gentleman, clutching his impoverished wallet; but this served only to attract the attention of two surly toughs who were nearby, as well as socially concerned. They took his wallet and cast him into the gutter, breaking both legs, plucking out an eye, and causing other injuries.

The liberal and the two toughs congratulated one another at length and with a great feeling of self-satisfaction. An aura of self-righteousness enveloped them.

But finally the liberal drew away and spoke thus: "Let us not stray from our path now that we have come so far against the reactionaries whose penurious hearts would deny social progress, for even now we have before us in the gutter three disadvantageds desperately in need of justice. Immediate action is indicated. I shall legislate. You [pointing to the first tough] shall administrate. You [pointing to the second tough] shall collect revenue, both for our program of social justice and for its administration. Now go, and hesitate not to enlist others to assist us, for there are as many socially concerned to be found as there are problems, especially in Minnesota and Boston. I see that even while we idle here another disadvantaged has joined the benefit line."

(Continues on page 969)

Mr. Gunnarson is a senior economist and an accomplished

*Acknowledgments: I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. J. L. Krishnon, an obscure graduate assistant from whom I steal my ideas. I am also pathetically grateful to Mrs. J. Campbell, who typed the manuscript.

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THE OLYMPICS

The Olympics, says the Kremlin, "are one of the fronts of fierce struggle" between East and West. Until our sportswriters grasp that fact, they will all miss the point nearly as badly as . . . Howard Cosell

War Games: Facts and Coverage

MICHAEL NOVAK

WHEN SPORTSWRITERS turn to political commentary —especially the more pretentious commentators —their minds turn sentimental in a new way. The old sportswriters were sentimental about petty things, like Babe Ruth, or the Dodgers, or dear old Alma Mater U. The new sportswriters are sentimental about weighty things, like world revolution, socialism, universalism, and eye-wetting "humanistic" values.

Thus, Dick Schaap took three minutes on NBC news to tell us that a brilliant Cuban runner, Alberto Juantorena, was running solely for the honor of a "poet and former baseball player," Fidel Castro, and for the Revolution—which is even more incredible than saying Joe Rudi and Rollie Fingers give their all for the love of Charlie Finley. Howard Cosell, too, only tells about half of it like it is, that half composed of shilling entertainment values—touting new favorites as Ed Sullivan used to tout new jugglers and rock stars. The comments from the press box are not investigative, calm, reportorial, full, accurate; they sell entertainment and the newest chic politics. Cosell couldn't even get the names of the opposition right: he resorted to calling them "the Bulgarian," "the Russian," "the Pole," while treating the Americans to lavish nicknames and lavish praise.

Marvin Kitman of *Newsday* voted "the stone medal" to ABC for its incompetent coverage of the Olympics. Most of Europe (I am told) saw eight or more hours of sports each day—and they saw *sports*. Most of what ABC showed us was Jim McKay talking endlessly, night club sports, romantic "Up Close and Personals" to shame Grantland Rice, and Jim McKay talking endlessly.

One lucky day, I had the chance to watch Canadian television. In 45 minutes of CBC I saw more athletic action than in any four hours of ABC. The CBC used tapes to show each attempt of the broad-jumpers—short cuts, each several seconds long, so that one could see the cumulative efforts in a single sequence. In this fashion, whole events can be summarized in a few minutes. The beauty of these deeds stays in the mind.

ABC has not yet discovered that what fans want to watch is sports, not the travelogues that corporations produce for high schools. Jim McKay seemed all agog that ABC could show us so many events *live*. Who cares? With tape, ABC could have multiplied the number of events we witnessed fivefold.

Soccer, which we missed, is the most popular planetary game. Field hockey and water polo would have been delights to see. Volleyball, fencing, shooting, archery—dozens of events were barely, if at all, scanned by ABC. The version of the Olympics shown in the United States was overinflated, narrow, parochial, star-struck. When ABC's Keith Jackson twice informed the world that "our leader," Roone Arledge, had been a high-school wrestler, nausea rumbled in at least one disgusted stomach. A stone medal is too good.

The One-Worlders of Sports

Yet ABC's confusion of sports with "entertainment" is like that of *Silver Screen, Screen Romances,* or *New York* magazine. At the level of *The New York Review of Books,* the most commonly bruited *ideas* about the Olympics were also pretty silly. The idealists of the press would like to ban "nationalism" from the Games, and celebrate "individual excellence." James Tuite of the *New York Times* countered this trend effectively by pointing to the tears in the eyes of many of the U.S. basketball players on the victory stand as the flags were raised and our National Anthem was played—and to the intense national pride exhibited at the boxing and swimming contests. Let's face it, he wrote, nationalism is the name of the game.

I happened to be at the Finn Fest in Michigan's Upper Peninsula when Lasse Viren won the 10,000 meters. To imagine that Finns, either Finnish-Americans or visitors, reacted to his victory as they would have to one by someone from any other nation is to misunderstand the nature of human beings. We are nearly as limited as plants—each of us rooted in the belly of a single woman, in a single family, a single village or city, region, and nation. No one of us speaks for the whole human race, for it is the nature of our race to be diversified by flesh, culture, and history. God made human diversity, Aquinas wrote, to mirror back God's infinity, each variation reflecting a different glory of the Infinite.

Theologically, our one-worlders are gnostics, thinking it a scandal that flesh, time, and history diversify us. The Christian "mystery" of the Incarnation, like the Jewish

Mr. Novak is the author of The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, Choosing Our King, *and, most recently,* The Joy of Sports *(reviewed here August 6).*

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"mystery" of Jahweh's election of a single chosen people, flies in the face of gnosticism. Our flesh and finiteness are as integral to our identity as our "universal reason." One value of sports in our world is that they are by their nature a scandal to gnosticism. They are embodied.

They depend on a supporting political and economic system. Many of our commentators seem to think that communications, a shrinking world, and the Coca-Colanization and Pepsification of the planet tend to "unite" the human race. They miss the great fact of the last third of the twentieth century: modernization engenders, not unity, but intense feelings of identity, loyalty, and difference. Not only is Great Britain now more weakly *Great*, it is less and less a *United* Kingdom, the Scots and the Welsh feeling new impulses toward independence. "National Liberation" is proving to be a human tendency deeper than International Socialism. Homogenizing tendencies spread across the world's surface, but the deep dynamism of our times is differentiation, not conformity.

The very conception of the Olympics reflects a dual awareness of this truth. The Games are international and help to focus world attention on a shared set of symbols in one system of laws and rules. But the only source of energy, passion, interest, and (not incidentally) money capable of bringing off an international event of such magnitude is national loyalty—and, if not necessarily the nation-state, committees nationally organized for the Herculean task. Our gnostics may say that we should cheer excellence wherever it is found, and in part we do. But television's practices prove that at the same time we do not. Cameras follow national heroes. Intensity of feeling builds up around national rivalries.

Sports as War

The Olympics without the intense feeling that marked the volleyball battle between the Poles and the Russians—a feeling that reaches back hundreds of years—would be flat, indeed. More than physical excellence is at stake; rootedness and spirit are at stake. The Olympics are what William James so earnestly sought everywhere except where it might be found: a moral equivalent of war. Great passions may here be purged. Even a single gold medal can enthrall a nation; virtually every nation wins (gold, silver, bronze) *something*. Even a nation of 17 million like East Germany, which is smaller in population than California, can become a superpower if it has the native culture to support the required disciplines.

Put the two halves of Germany together—East Germany with ninety medals and West Germany with 39—and one seems to get in the Olympic Games a fair enough sense of the distribution of moral, cultural, and political power in the present world: Germany 129, USSR 125, U.S.A. 94. One realizes why Germany was kept divided.

The incredible performance of the Eastern bloc tells us something very important about psychic power in our world. Combined, the athletes of the USSR, East Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria won 328 medals out of a possible 615. When Moscow's *Literary Gazette* intones that "The Olympic Games are not just a major sports festival but are one of the fronts of fierce struggle between the supporters and opponents" of the way Communists view the world, we get the message. On this front, they are demonstrably superior.

And what *is* this front? It is not mere excellence. It is not mere "sport." It is assuredly not entertainment. It is not even a moneymaker; on the contrary, its financial costs are very high. It is deadly serious discipline, dedication, morale, work, organized effort, and individual sacrifice—in order to prevail. It is a kind of war. Socialism is not only physically obtrusive in the Olympic Games; it prevails.

Bill Dwyre of the *Milwaukee Journal* tried to show in an intelligent column that American sportswriters were confusing politics with sports, especially in the case of the East German women, who thrashed the U.S. women. He doesn't like the "win-at-all-costs sentiment that prevails in most sports circles in the U.S." Let East Germany, or all the Communist countries, he argues, consider it a high-priority item to win Olympic medals. Let them pursue that goal and choose their lifestyle accordingly. We should not.

Win at Which Costs?

Shouldn't we? That depends. "Win-at-all-costs" is a weasel word. *Which* costs? Surely, there are many costs that a free people can willingly sustain in order to reach certain goals, goals themselves morally neutral or good. Surely, too, a free nation can so organize itself, not only freely but non-governmentally, to attain such goals. There is no reason why free societies cannot prevail in fair competition.

If a free society could prevail against the totalitarian disciplines of athletes singlemindedly dedicated to proving the superiority of their regimen, the moral satisfactions for the rest of the world would be very great indeed. Power in our world is very much affected by symbolic status.

Sports transcend both entertainment and business. They also transcend politics. Losing a basketball game is not at all like losing a tank battle (as the Czechs and Slovaks lost one in 1968); being inferior in swimming is not at all like being inferior in political independence. Besides, to participate at all is to accept international rules that, in principle, transcend political interests. But if we are to "tell it like it is," we have to say that the left-wing critics of sports in America are right about the politicization of sports, but wrong about the central source of the politicization. The Eastern bloc *does* regard sports as one front in a political battle that they wage on every front—in literature, in science, in religion, as well as in sports. We have two choices: Pretend differently. Or accept their challenge.

Were we to accept the challenge and win, *then* we could say that sports transcend politics. *Then* we could say that just because we prevail at the Olympics, we do not believe that athletic pre-eminence is the be-all and end-all of a free society. As winners, we could say our piece and even speak convincingly of love. As losers, *now*, we sting like a butterfly.

Perhaps my competitive instincts are overdeveloped (perhaps it is merely an East European seriousness about such things); but I would prefer to win before I tried to make my moral points. I would like to see the U.S. go to Moscow in 1980 and come home with the highest point total of any nation in the world. If the Eastern bloc wants a fight, let's stick it to them right in Moscow. Frank Merriwell would have done no less. What cheers would echo through the world, even to the farthest cell of the Gulag Archipelago! □

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LETTER FROM BONN

A Cliff-Hanger Election

NORBERT MUHLEN

"FREEDOM INSTEAD OF SOCIALISM," proclaim posters in West Germany, where people will go to the polls on October 3. This is the official slogan of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party, the somewhat more conservative Christian Social Union (CSU). They are challenging the ruling coalition of the Social Democrats (SPD) and the influential, liberal Free Democrats (FDP), a small but growing party. The CDU slogan was originally going to be "Freedom or Socialism," but the party leaders decided the present version was more constructive. The Socialists are protesting it bitterly because, they claim, their socialism is part and precondition of freedom, not its alternative. At least half the German people seem to disagree with that view.

The CDU battle cry was chosen, as its authors explained to me, because it seemed advisable to boil the contest down to essentials, to concentrate on a basic theme rather than get lost in specific issues. Whether there are indeed any "real issues" in the campaign is itself one of the most hotly debated issues. There are, in fact, few major questions of policy to divide the electorate. Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, initiated after the Social Democrats came to power in 1969, is now a *fait accompli*. The Christian Democratic opposition admits that there is no use crying over the ratification of the Oder-Neisse line, though it promises to be tougher in implementing other agreements with the Communist East European governments than the SPD has been. At the same time, the euphoria which Ostpolitik originally evoked has completely disappeared as hopes for reduction in Soviet and East German harassments in Berlin have evaporated.

Indeed today West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (the FDP leader) and Defense Minister Georg Leber (a Catholic right-wing Social Democrat) are resisting further attempts by the Soviet Union and West Germany's Communist neighbors to restrict Bonn's mobility. Both they and other responsible members of Helmut Schmidt's government seem to be competing with opposition leaders in affirming that the NATO alliance, in closest cooperation with the United States, has top priority.

Nor can one detect any substantial differences between the government and the opposition in economic matters, apart from rhetoric. The present government can boast of its success in overcoming the recession, of having lower unemployment and inflation rates than any other comparable industrialized nation (with the exception of Switzerland, which SPD orators prefer to ignore). The government's economic course has avoided socialist and interventionist experiments and done much to preserve a free market. The new and potentially ominous Law of Codetermination, which gives workers a strong voice in the management of larger corporations, has not been in operation long enough to be realistically evaluated. On the whole, people appear satisfied with their present prosperity: good wages permit a new car and other luxuries; comprehensive Social Security is reassuring. Every hotel porter seems to have spent his last vacation in Mallorca or Marrakesh ("and next year, perhaps, we'll go to America, but I hear it's so dangerous there . . ."). In fact, one Social Democrat told me that his party is counting on votes from returning vacationers impressed by "how much better off Germans are than people in the other West European countries they have visited."

Yet despite this surface contentment, Germans have strong reservations about their present leadership. Quite a few are simply tired of having had the same men in power for the past eight years. But more fundamentally, what disquiets many, including a sizable number of Social Democrats, is what they call "the whole direction": the perceived danger that the country is being moved toward the non-democratic Left by forces tolerated by the government. The almost daily exposure of Communist spies, some of them high in the structure of the Social Democratic Party, creates the ugly suspicion that there are many more who remain undetected—and that the government is not doing enough to root them out.

The takeover of Berlin's Free University and at least seven others by the so-called academic Popular Front, which includes left-wing Socialists as well as Communists, is frightening to all moderates. Proclamations by the radicalized youth auxiliaries of the Social Democrats and the liberal parties (the *Jusos* and the *Judos*), demanding revolutionary measures to end free enterprise altogether, sound to many ears like the voice of tomorrow's party leadership. And the party leadership seems acquiescent. Why, it is asked, have none of these youthful rebels been expelled from the ranks?

THE NEWEST radical campaign is against the "Radicals' Decree," a law which excludes those who seek to overthrow democracy from all public employment. Although fewer than one out of 10,000 applicants has been affected over the past two years, this summer the law was suddenly denounced by the Left as "neo-fascist." These denunciations have been repeated by Scandinavian and French Socialist leaders, and François Mitterrand has gone so far as to found a French Committee to Protect Civil Liberties in Germany (in West Germany, not in East Germany, be it noted). The leftist Swedish press is in full cry against "Germany's new Nazism." Willy Brandt, under whose chancellorship the decree was passed, has succumbed to pressure from the left with ritualistic mea culpas.

There's another danger, remote still but potentially serious. With Social Democrats in charge of so many governments in Western Europe today, many Germans fear the possibility of a European Popular Front imposing its will on a Europe in the process of unification. This they consider dangerous enough, but if one adds to the equation the growing strength of the Communist parties in so many countries—Italy,

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Mr. Muhlen is the American correspondent for several European newspapers.

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MALACHI B. MARTIN

God, Caesar, and the People

DURING the recent primary campaigns, more than one candidate was called on to make public statements about his religious beliefs. The question was raised often and specifically, by audiences who would not allow it to be shunted aside with a *pro forma* answer. There was much discussion in the media of the impropriety, even the "danger," of injecting the element of religion into the political arena: it endangered, said the media, the "constitutional wall" between Church and State, which protects American democracy from the poisonous effect of religion; and, anyway, religion doesn't belong in politics.

But injected it was. For politics is a terribly realistic art. And the candidates, who certainly do not waste their time on irrelevancies or risk their chances by speaking unnecessarily on dangerous issues, were quite forthcoming in their answers. Apparently the candidates, having tested the voters' reactions, did not consider the subject either dangerous or irrelevant.

The real attitude of the popular mind is far removed from the prejudice and exaggeration of the many clamorous secularist voices that insist that, in interpreting the "constitutional wall" maxim, "Church" be understood as referring not merely to an institution, but in the very broadest sense to religion, the believers' faith. What believers as believers have to say about any social or political issue is skewered not only as irrelevant but as unconstitutional—as un-American, in fact. The religious viewpoint should be excluded from the air waves, from educational theory and practice, from psychology and sociology and medicine, and above all from the workings of the political system. This is the "neutralist" (*sic*) mentality.

The people, for their part, apparently do want to keep the "Church" (a particular religious institution) totally separated from the State; and they want this in order that both be protected. Still, and over against that background, it is of capital importance in the people's eyes that a candidate indicate his personal attitude on religion. They are not looking for just an item of information on a par with the number of children he has or where he spends his evenings off. They expect him to exhibit his religious attitude without embarrassment or cynicism, with unfearful recognition of the difference between religious belief and institutional church power, and with the same understanding that marked the political thinking of the men who established this country as "one nation under God."

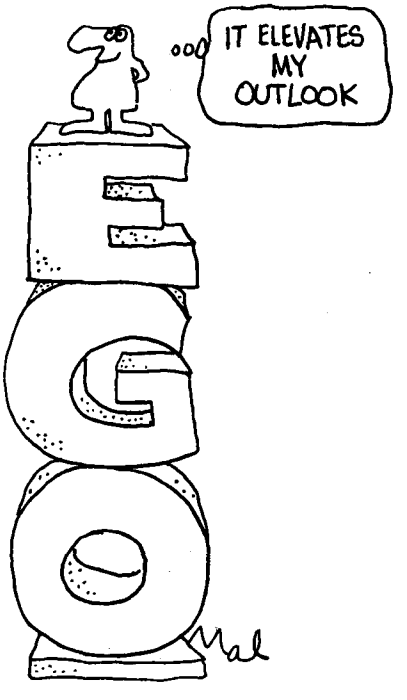
INSTINCTIVELY, any serious presidential candidate knows that to be acceptable on the religious level he must stand within a specifically American range: never so narrow as to identify him as a religious fanatic or sectarian (a Rabbi Kahane or an American version of Reverend Moon would get nowhere in a presidential bid); never so broad as to make him appear merely tolerant of any and all religious faiths while personally indifferent to and unaffected by specific beliefs (the bets would be very low on a candidate who was a declared unbeliever, a convinced atheist).

The people, as the pols know, would not trust an atheist as President. They would not trust him because, like it or not, the persuasion of the people is that the Constitution and the laws of this nation ultimately depend for their durability on the invisible reality of the human spirit as it freely acknowledges and worships God and depends on God for salvation. Religious faith makes this relationship manifest. And this is the traditional American interpretation of Jesus' political maxim: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

We are constantly reminded by "neutralists" and self-styled "humanists" that the U.S.A. is a nation of laws. They take this to mean that the final and deepest sanction on human actions is the law; that a multiplicity of laws can by themselves ensure political and social health; that if you pass a law making some action legal, that action is or becomes good morally. But legal enactment does not make anything good morally. For, as Jesus said, "only God is good"; and our actions can be good only insofar as they conform to the will of God as we know it by faith.

Secularists forget that every tyranny in recent memory has been able to enact laws that will forever live in the history of human infamy. We, too, have found out again and again that laws, any laws, can be corrupted if they do not rest on a moral base. And, in the whole known history of civilization, there has never been a working morality or a practical system of ethics that was not born of religion or that long survived the vibrant faith of its practitioners.

It is no danger, but a great strength, that Americans want reassurance that their government will be run by individuals who share their knowledge that neither law nor society can endure and continue to confer its benefits unless it derives ultimate sanction from God, the only source of power and life. Still today, as always before in our history, there is a deep persuasion among the people that the moral conscience bred by religious faith is as much a fundamental part of their American heritage as the laws and the Constitution. □



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Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

The Greening of Sam Brown—I

Sam Brown might be the Daddy in some kid's game of play-house. His face is soft, cute: immature: waiting perhaps for a momentous endocrine change. The mustache, I think, could have been spirit-gummed on. At 33 his adulthood will seem borrowed from a grown-up's closet. This is that Brown, remember, who organized Students for McCarthy, who invented the Vietnam Moratorium, who is now—turn left often enough and you'll end up following yourself—is now State Treasurer, *elected* State Treasurer, of Colorado. He orders Campari to moralize against my straight bourbon and takes a Sam Brown belt from it. He's apologetic, sweaty: been sprinting to keep this appointment. New York bankers, not freshmen and sophomores, have held him up. Sam ducks out of his conservative suit jacket and arranges it, each shoulder just right, on the chair back. No more funky jeans for Sam Brown. As he will say, "Why offend people with style when you can offend them with substance?"

A bit self-important, that: drawn from some state treasury of useful maxims. It has the macho-pompous ring that went with people who called Vietnam just plain Nam: politics is the art of the passable and so forth. But Brown has sung it, solo on occasion, before. Back in '69 he could sense that Middle America had been snubbed, gratuitously, by style. One year later, at age 27, he did a brilliant piece for *The Washington Monthly*, maybe the most incisive, certainly the most precocious, appreciation of antiwar tactics and neuroses then written. "In any case, I find political violence wrong in principle, and antiwar violence is also strategic nonsense, creating even more needless enemies than flag-burning. . . . Middle Americans who favor an early end to the war hold the political balance. . . . Jerry Rubin may have to be excluded from a platform to keep John Lindsay, because, coldly, John Lindsay is far more politically valuable." This might have been effective strategy, but Brown knew that there was a crack in its engine block. "This is particularly difficult for young people, who dislike the notion of effectiveness because it represents to them the very craving for success that alienates them from America . . ." Form will follow functioning: so does a paycheck, mortgages, boredom.

Antiwar cadres developed what Brown would term "sect-like behavior." "Middle America is still sexually Victorian on the whole but politically pragmatic, while students are politically absolutist and sexually situational." "Anyone who added a new plank to the canons of the Left was considered purer than his predecessor, and the movement shifted with its purest elements. People became unwilling to accept those opposed to the war for less comprehensive reasons. They had to be written off as opportunists and moral reprobates." He smelled out elitism. It's to his credit that young Brown could write what follows—at high-tide, remember, not long after a more or less spectacular October Moratorium, and while vulpine Left-radical groups were closing in on the turf he had prepared with enormous, headlong devotion. "In order to build a successful peace movement, one must believe that Middle America should count, even after a week's canvassing in Ogallala, Nebraska or Peoria, Illinois. The alternative is to join with classical aristocrats, who find the paper ballot a rather crude and absurd method of making political decisions."

But, when putsch came to shove, Brown was left with students. For that he could blame LBJ. ". . . Johnson's presence in the White House silenced many of those who are now doves against a Republican President. . . . The result was that the students were the original peace constituency almost by a process of elimination. Through the draft, we felt the war with the kind of harsh self-interest which motivates most political activity." The article was a blank petition for help: Brown needed respectable leaders to inoculate his movement against radical Left infection. Few signed up. Brown has a trenchant explanation. "Many older doves . . . are wary of the effectiveness trap. Some can remember the Cold War Fifties, when liberals adopted Brooks Brothers suits to 'effectively' protect those falsely accused by Joe McCarthy. And liberals continued to adapt themselves to the times until they decried the missile gap in 1960 so they could be effective in making social reforms and finally began the Vietnam War to demonstrate that they were more flexibly effective anti-Communists than the hawkish Republicans." There is, I suspect, much truth in that concise biography of the anti-Communist Left: its final disillusionment: our final disillusionment with them.

Sam got disillusioned, too. "It was a function of the upper-middle-class nature of the antiwar movement: when the draft ended, and they started taking poor people, all of a sudden a lot of people disappeared." He sips Campari. "That was a great disappointment to me: I had thought it was a movement driven by principle and not by expediency." So Sam did what all liberals do in retirement: wrote a book. Random House advanced him $7,500. Now he's paying them off at a hundred fifty bucks per month.

"I just flat-out failed." He laughs. "I did all the romantic things. I went up and sat in the mountains. Bought myself a dog. House with a fireplace and a beautiful view. A four-wheel-drive vehicle. A lot of books and some paper. I wanted to write about where politics ought to go. They wanted an anecdotal history of the late Sixties. What I really gave them was neither. I mean they were absolutely right to reject the manuscript." He thinks it over. "I was 27 years old and very much full of myself. Everything I had

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done for the preceding five years had worked—all of a sudden I went up there and discovered I didn't know enough to write a book. Also I broke my leg skiing. It wasn't a good time for me."

We leave our hero there: in spiritual crisis. But he will rise. Tune in next fortnight for Sam Brown, politician. □

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

The Coming Megaburp

Recently I have been gazing into the future via press conferences, magazines, and newspapers. Allow me to share my cullings with you.

According to the *Washington Post*, an astrophysicist named Stephen Rosen has written a book—*Future Facts: A Forecast of the World as We Will Know It before the End of the Century*—in which he projects such inventions as a "tubecraft," an airless underground tunnel that could carry passengers at speeds up to 14,000 miles per hour, making the trip from New York to Los Angeles in 21 minutes. Streamlined subway cars would be propelled by pollution-free magnetic waves. Projected cost: $90 billion. Projected fare: fifty dollars.

Some minor cooking appliances already in existence give a foretaste of such a future. National Presto Industries, which has already given us the pressure cooker and the electric frying pan, has brought out an ultra-fast electric deep-fryer, small enough to be handy for single people. There is also the Prestoburger, for one or two hamburgers in a jiffy wherever there is an electric outlet; like the fryer, it is a well-designed, practical appliance, easy to keep clean and very convenient for kitchenless people.

What brought these on is explained by some statistics adduced by one Mr. Ryberg, a Presto executive, who calls ours "the era of the Young Adult." In the past five years, the 25-to-34 age group has grown by an explosive 22 per cent, and single-person households by 20 per cent. The child population is shrinking, meanwhile, and there is an increase of about 10 per cent in people over 65. Eating habits are changing too: nearly half the young adults go to a fast-food carry-out restaurant twice a month or more.

Mimi Sheraton of the *New York Times*, the best food reporter around, recently went to the National Restaurant Association's annual trade show in Chicago. There she encountered such goodies as turkey-salami, turkey-pastrami, turkey-ham, and turkey-bologna —turkey is cheap and plentiful these days, and can be colored, spiced, smoked, and textured to resemble the other meats. There were also shredded dried lettuce and slaw, spin-dried in a centrifuge and packed in plastic bags for use by fast-food burger chains; and "tater shells," small brown ovals made from Idaho potatoes, to be stuffed with instant mashed potato mixes that spew forth from a machine in a stream of mush that thickens when it stands. One firm produces a helpful concoction, a chemical powder designed to keep peeled raw potatoes and salad greens from changing color, potential customers being encouraged to "chemicalize and up-up profits." I'll spare you further details of the food of the future.

I've said it before, I brood about it constantly, and I'll say it again: I cannot understand how the cookbook explosion of the last few years, the Julia Child vogue which has affected so many millions, and all the work of the service magazines can have had so little influence on the food we get when we eat out. You'd think that both the fancy feeders in the luxury restaurants, who pride themselves on their savoir-vivre, and the restaurateurs themselves, who pride themselves on their cooking, would insist on perfect food, considering the prices; but alas, with few exceptions, it is not so. Should they not be the brave bearers of honest gastronomic standards, even if doomed like the Light Brigade? It all seems to prove that there is little if any relation between the books the people buy and the way they eat, in or out, in real life.

If the prospect for our culinary future affects your sleep, it may be some consolation to learn that you don't have to count sheep any more. A Danish firm makes a "Fall Asleep Mobile" that induces sleep by providing a pale green moon that moves gently and glows softly in the dark. What's more, the moon is totally safe: its luminosity is not made by phosphorous or radioactive materials. □

ROMANCE

SUSAN S. McDONALD

Chaste Pornography

"Liberation" has neutered, if not desexed, pornography by providing equal access to many of the literary entertainments that were once a part of male privilege. But women still appreciate the sexiness in circumspection—and there's plenty of written evidence to that effect in a popular category of paperback pacifiers for women called "romantic-suspense." Even if you've never read one of these books (and virtually no *man* has), you've certainly spotted them revolving on the drugstore carousels: glossy-black-castle–white-nightie covers stacked between Erle Stanley Gardner and Irving Wallace. Puerile and imitative, nearly all of them. But because they continue to romanticize inhibitions—even at a time when, all around us, people are losing theirs—they're read by women of all types as a kind of chaste and courtly pornography.

Modern romantic-suspense novels have respectable forerunners, like Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and James's *Turn of the Screw*; but in this particular species of writing, evolution reversed

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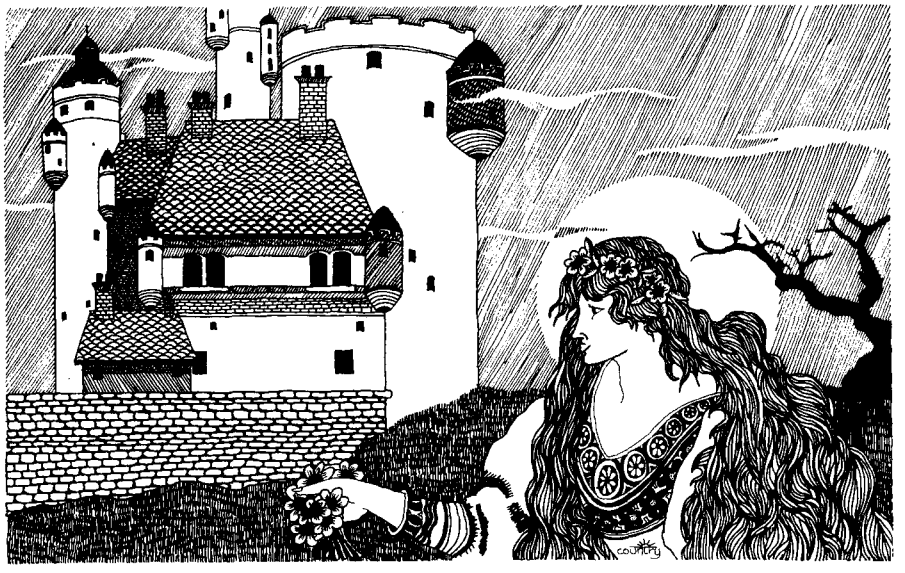
itself and something worthy evolved into an aping caricature, half whodunit and half turret romance. There are a few respectable examples of RS fiction (DuMaurier's classic, *Rebecca*, for example) and a couple of best-selling contemporary authors with a modest degree of storytelling ingenuity, like Victoria Holt. But most RS books are formularized, transparent, and utterly implausible.

Which is to say, with all due apologies, that I love them. They're ideal for travel, the beach, or whenever else you might want to make a hasty paperback exit from reality. And escape artists (like me) who've not lost *all* shame can still justify our deplorable choice of reading matter by pointing out that, like ads and comic books, RS novels are really a word's-eye view of something deeper in the culture—female romantic sensibilities.



There are hundreds of permutations in the RS category, but most are "gothics," set in brooding, old houses wracked by secrets and emotions as menacing and devious as the architecture. To justify this sort of aristocratic menage, with its family skeletons and family retainers, gothics must take place in the last century or in a remote locale passed over by time and progress. Typically, the heroine is a newly orphaned young woman, arriving at the manor as governess, companion, or poor relation. She soon becomes the victim of increasingly serious "accidents," but—being too plucky to flee—courts danger and eventually death to uncover the gothic secret that holds the household in neurotic thrall. Despite sinister intimations about the angry man-about-manor she secretly loves, her nemesis almost always turns out to be a solicitous aunt gone mad or a charming cousin out for the family funds. It's the rule of the game in gothics that most irascibles are red herrings rather than black sheep.

At the end, when the hero retrieves the governess from the well or the clocktower, it becomes clear that his titillating hostility and her reserve have actually masked a mutual passion. Yet the final, pre-nuptial pages draw a blank on all but love declarations. Those who like romantic compacts sealed with more than a kiss are thwarted; in romantic-suspense novels, suspense is only *half* the tease.

Since men are supposed to relish more explicit sex descriptions, they may find it hard to imagine how gothics could ever be classified as anyone's pornography, chaste or otherwise. "Good parts" are usually nothing more vivid than a fleeting, hostile embrace snatched mid-book or a sudden romantic realization: "She knew that she loved Count d'Arcy." One RS editor avers that she will allow an occasional lapse so long as it's motivated by intense passion; but the only RS novel I can recall that had a pre-marital indiscretion killed off the male offender in the last chapter. I hated it.

RS novels are based, with few exceptions, on the old-fashioned presumption that chastity is a state of erotic anticipation rather than a pitiable inadequacy. The manorist setting itself is a metaphor for veiled and formal relationships which protect individuals—treacherous as well as pure—from easy disclosure. When the formula was first contrived for mass paperback readership in a less liberated era, it might have been designed partly to reassure readers that true love is the reward for continence and forbearance. No one believes that these days, for good or ill, but inhibitions have become, by virtue of their disappearance, more intriguing than ever.

We can probably expect women to sacrifice some of their romantic sensibilities to liberation as they learn to use the hard stuff right alongside men—which may be one reason for the growing popularity of historical romance books, where, as a rule, sex passages tend to be slightly more explicit. (They are still quite tame, though, and almost always love-related.) Publishers are also beginning to turn out transposed, updated gothics with more relevant themes and greater freedom for the heroines. Thus, the governess who once disclosed family treachery at Ferncliffe Manor may now be an art student uncovering dope traffic in a Turkish palace. She is more liberated than the traditional gothic heroine who earns her living because she *must* rather than because she wants to. Indeed, feminists, who are never off-duty even when they're escaping, must bristle at the basic gothic premise: employment shoves women into the path of danger, whereas marriage restores their comfort, security, and social status.

As specimens of "pornography," the only canons of taste these books violate are not sexual, but rather literary and intellectual. Even a hardcore reader feels soggy after holding her head under the Fawcetts for too long. But there's something about suspense, however contrived, and historical ambiance, however bogus, that firms up the worst pulp and makes it palatable.

Perhaps as escape hatches go, gothics are only a slightly less honorable passage to oblivion than ordinary gumshoe. (Certainly, the knowledge that Kissinger reads pornography between peace feelers gives me the courage to make these lurid literary disclosures.) Only one in twenty or more make really great reads, and even a cracker-jacket decoder can't tell for sure just by looking. It's that exasperating randomness that keeps us cult-readers working the shelves periodically and, with each paperback we pluck, losing and regrowing our old romantic innocence. □

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BOOKS

Lenin and the West

Lenin in Zurich
By Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
Farrar, 309 pp., $8.95

JULIANA GERAN PILON

Solzhenitsyn's most disturbing work to date, *Lenin in Zurich*, is his first book dealing primarily, if implicitly, with the West. Though most of the characters are Russian, their ideology, milieu, and financial foundations are Western. More than a portrayal of the most influential revolutionary since Robespierre, *Lenin in Zurich* is the anatomy of a revolution—a vivisection disquieting in its implications for the present.

As with most of Solzhenitsyn's work, this book is not fiction so much as literary history. A collection of fragments from the trilogy *August 1914–October 1916–March 1917*, which is still in progress, its unity is so perfect that one cannot but applaud Solzhenitsyn's decision to present it in one volume. In documenting the frustration and isolation of Marxism's High Priest, *Lenin in Zurich* develops around a personality only to reveal the deeper forces that make history.

And a complex personality it is. Lenin's dedication and hard work are almost admirable. The book—written in the omniscient third person but exclusively from Lenin's perspective—becomes diary-like, and the reader enters the character's innermost thoughts, grows involved to the point of empathy with Lenin, the intellectual faithful to an idea—that all too familiar, too deceptively appealing idea, the good of the people. Soon, however, this superficially saintly fanatic emerges as the AntiChrist, a man profoundly evil, unable to love and loved by no one.

Lenin's pervasive misanthropy extends to the common people, to his associates, to the happy, industrious Swiss burghers, and even to his wife—a meek, convenient housekeeper-secretary who for years has had to share a *ménage à trois* with the beautiful and eccentric Inessa. (Though aware of Inessa's many faults, Lenin needs her, uses her, allows her to humiliate and reject him.) Most notably, however, Lenin dislikes Russia—indeed, he regrets being a Russian. Steeped in the ideological heritage of the West, he considers his accidental birthplace a handicap: as a true Marxist, Lenin hopes the Revolution will take place in the West—preferably Switzerland—and circumstances alone force him to concentrate on Russia. In order to turn the war against Germany into a civil war, he advises his countrymen against defending the motherland. "We are the anti-patriots!" is the candid rallying cry of the Bolsheviks.

Yet Lenin is remarkably uninformed and impotent, confined to his Zurich library, isolated even from the local émigré community, which he of course despises. It seems clear that he would have sunk into oblivion but for the clever manipulations of another Russian revolutionary: Israel Lazarevich Helphand, deceptively nicknamed Parvus ("small"). This enigmatic character—a promiscuous, charismatic businessman who made his money in the West and enjoyed it immensely—had decided early in life that the Czar was the main enemy of the Jews. Supported by this firm conviction, he proceeded to dedicate his life to the Czar's overthrow.

Ingenious always, Parvus managed to persuade the German high officials that financing a revolution in Russia would guarantee the loss of a major enemy and would thus be a worthy cause. Lenin was horrified by such a scheme, trusting neither the opulent Parvus nor the Germans. Even after Parvus, working on his own initiative, managed to get Lenin a passport enabling him to return to Russia—with German blessings—Lenin was reluctant to go. Nor did he fully approve of Parvus' pouring millions, through clever trade arrangements, into the Bolshevik treasury in Russia. It took Lenin quite some time to understand Parvus' principle: "Use capitalism to overthrow capitalism." He learned it slowly but he learned it well. The rope-selling goes on as expected.

To appreciate this book fully, one must see it against its actual background: Solzhenitsyn's trilogy. The hateful émigré Lenin contrasts sharply with the simple peasants he despises, who in *August 1914* valiantly defend their homes and families. From the parts of the trilogy published to date, the conclusion emerges that history is being decided neither by the kind and generous nor by the very evil alone: the latter come to fill a vacuum of author-

Patricia S. Coyne *is a literary critic and Washington Editor of* Private Practice. . . . **Ian Maitland** *teaches sociology at New York University. . . .* **Steve Ownbey** *is a freelance writer who works for the U.S. Navy. . . .* **Juliana Geran Pilon** *is an instructor in philosophy at Roosevelt University.*

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ity left by myopic, if not downright incompetent, leaders. Morality is lacking at the top: among both German and Russian authorities during the First World War were all too many people oblivious to the plight of ordinary men, to the sacrifice that is war or the horror that is revolution. The collapse of Russia at the hands of a convinced antipatriot is the tragic outcome: funded by foreign money, equipped with Western philosophy, Lenin is hardly a man of his people.

For the final irony one must turn to the Author's Glossary. Despite Parvus' enormous role in the Revolution—indeed, because of it—Lenin repudiated him. Parvus remained in the West. Yet only after he became disenchanted with the massive allocation of Soviet funds "to support revolution in Europe" did he begin to criticize Lenin. Lenin of course had never intended to act otherwise. Parvus had known it all along; he couldn't say he had not been warned. Can we? □

A Plague on Both Your Houses
By Robert W. Whitaker
Robert B. Luce, 208 pp., $9.95

READ THIS ONE

JEFFREY HART

Sometimes it seems that just about everyone I meet wants to talk about "populism" and a New Majority political coalition. Until now, however, the leading New Majority theorists have not struck us as really representing the populist culture itself. Kevin Phillips (Edinburgh-Harvard) and William Rusher (Princeton-Harvard) certainly have not established themselves as horny-handed sons of the soil. Though they have written engrossing books on New Majority themes, they are themselves about as populist as Walter Pater.

Robert Whitaker's book therefore possesses a special value because Whitaker, though he has had academic training and has taught at the University of South Carolina, writes from *within* the culture of populism. What remains theoretical and discursive in those who write from outside that culture becomes concrete here. Intellectually impressive and in its own way eloquent, Whitaker's book is of the first importance.

Briefly put, he argues that we are now ruled by "twin establishments" on which he pronounces the "plague" of his title. These are the liberal establishment, protective of the burgeoning academic and welfarist interest, and the conservative establishment, identified with business and the military. "Pity and a decent outrage at injustice is roused in us and used to push through one billion-dollar social program after another, turning money and power over to professors and bureaucrats. . . . By almost every measurable criterion, the policy of social progress in the U.S.A. has been a catastrophic and expensive failure. Busing, criminal rehabilitation, and educational innovation have evoked solid and overwhelming popular opposition, yet they are pursued with unrelenting, uncaring vigor." On the other side: "Republicans and conservatives use our patriotism to expand an already fat and inefficient Pentagon and to protect business from necessary public scrutiny in the name of private enterprise."

Drawing on the work of economist Charles Issawi, Whitaker describes American society as egg-shaped: "By the millions, the children of the upper and upper middle classes are going into education, sociology, social work, social hygiene, public medicine . . . With these young people, the basic article of faith is concern for the lower classes." The new liberal coalition "combines the rich top and the poor bottom against the broad middle class . . . Champions of the [middle class], Issawi asserts, are populists."

The welfarist product of the new establishment naturally requires a relentless job of selling. "To obtain a poverty program, new-establishment forces must convince people they need to feed the hungry rather than buy a second car. Those administering these morality plays never receive less than five-figure salaries, and the taxpayers know it, so such taxpayers must not be allowed to dwell upon such facts. Families must be willing to have two instead of three children in the United States so that a program, again administered by upper-middle-class professionals paid accordingly, can feed the masses in India. These masses themselves are largely a result of earlier massive health programs sold to the same American public."

Naturally, since new-establishment products can hardly be sold on practical grounds, they are put over on moral grounds: "The defense budget should be cut [they tell you], for moral reasons. The money should be put into expanding projects, which have shown no sign of working in the past, to educate the poor and provide 'needed' services. True, they don't have any proof that these programs will do any good, but they are moral. Busing, sure enough, is also moral. We must re-evaluate our national objectives along moral lines, a phrase which invariably means we must expand programs in the new establishment's bailiwick." (Listen to the word "moral" echo in that passage, turning into its opposite.)

Whitaker has a fine sense of the shifting liberal equation. Thus, the new establishment is for labor as against the business establishment, but when the labor interest comes into conflict with the welfarist interest, the new establishment always backs the latter. Here, again, busing becomes the paradigmatic, the *test* issue: "Busing, or rather the idea of racial balance it was designed to fulfill, was developed by psychologists and sociologists in the early 1950s. In the National Education Association, which endorsed it, and in many academic circles, busing is an article of absolute faith. Nowhere has this group demonstrated its power so clearly and so nakedly as on this one issue. Against the educational establishment, the Middle American has no appeal. He is indeed considered very forward for questioning the right of the professionals, the professors and educators, to send his child where they choose." (Whitaker is an artist: note that *very forward*!)

LIKE PREVIOUS exploitative establishments, however, the social-welfarist new class has evoked a wave of popular protest. Whitaker sees this as the latest example of a dialectic familiar in American history. Thus our first establishment, the planter-aristocrats who largely fought the Revolution and wrote the Constitution, at length overreached themselves in an attempt to extend the institution of slavery. Under Frémont and Lincoln, the popular reaction defeated them. The victors in the Civil War in their turn produced

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RANDOM NOTES

■ TWO MORE FROM AUGUST: Lino A. Graglia's *Disaster by Decree* (Cornell University, $11.50) is a coruscating study of court-ordered integration: it argues that from a finding that mandatory segregation is illegal it does *not* follow that compulsory integration is justifiable. . . . *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence since 1945* (Basic, $17.50), by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries, is modeled on V. O. Key's *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949); it is based upon numerous interviews with Southern politicos, and sketches a broad socio-political background. Jimmy Carter's grinning face graces the jacket.

■ SEPTEMBER TITLES: Brian Crozier, with the aid of Eric Chou, has written a biography, *The Man Who Lost China* (Scribner's, $12.95), of Chiang Kai-shek, who regarded the Reds as "powerless puppets." . . . Nat Hentoff's *Jazz Is* (Random House/Ridge Press, $10) offers the musings of a jazz critic of thirty years' practice. . . . Howard Needham, who wrote the text, and Ted Needham, who took the photos, study what they call "the end of an agony" in their book *Alcatraz* (Celestial Arts, $3.95). . . . Art Buchwald is publishing *Washington Is Leaking* (Putnam, $8.95), his latest volume of columns. . . . William L. Shirer describes his progress from Chicago and Cedar Rapids to the Paris *Tribune* in his first autobiographical installment: *Twentieth Century Journey: A Memoir of a Life and Times*, Vol. I (Simon & Schuster, $12.50). . . . The life of a young Massachusetts state police corporal is the subject of George V. Higgins' new novel, *The Judgment of Deke Hunter* (Atlantic/Little, Brown, $8.95). . . . Seventy years ago, a Pittsburgh millionaire shot to death his wife's lover, an architect, at Madison Square Garden, thereby providing the subject of Michael MacDonald Mooney's *Evelyn Nesbit and Stanford White: Love and Death in the Gilded Age* (Morrow, $10). . . . David McLellan's *Dean Acheson: The State Department Years* (Dodd, Mead, $17.50) suggests that for a certain type of person, Henry Kissinger makes Acheson look good. . . . Bruce Mazlish's *Kissinger: The European Mind in American Policy* (Basic, $12.50) is another one of those books based on many interviews and containing unattributed quotations.

■ TAKE-IT-AWAY DEPARTMENT: Norman Vincent Peale has a sequel to *The Power of Positive Thinking*: it's called *The Positive Principle Today: How to Renew and Sustain the Power of Positive Thinking* (Prentice-Hall, $6.95). To this, even speaking in the tongues is preferable. . . . Did you know that single women have a tough life, and that they are entitled thereby to public response and support? Then read Lucia H. Bequaert's *Single Women: Alone and Together* (Beacon, $8.95).

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a business and industrial establishment, the renowned malefactors of great wealth. Then, Bryan and Teddy Roosevelt strode forth. Whitaker interprets George Wallace, correctly I think, as a populist forerunner on the Frémont-Bryan model. The wave of protest against the new establishment still awaits its Lincoln or TR.

Part of the intellectual pleasure of this book resides in its dozens of coruscating discrete insights. Here is Whitaker on why the upper middle class is politically useless to us now: "An upper-middle-class person is never so rich that he can be truly independent, and his upper-middle-classedness, be it as a lawyer, a doctor, a professor, a store-owner, or a bureaucrat, is always heavily dependent on the good opinion of his colleagues and the public in general . . . Here is, understandably enough, the most really conservative class. That is, they are the last to buck the powers that be, whether those powers call themselves conservative or liberal."

That point probably explains Whitaker's hostility to much current conservative writing, no doubt mine, even mine, since, whatever its substance, that writing almost necessarily locates itself within an upper-middle-class conversation, academic or otherwise. I think, however, that Whitaker underestimates the importance of such intellectual substance, and its subversive effect from within the upper-middle-class citadels themselves. Furthermore, no serious politics can exist purely on the basis of interest and without an underpinning of political theory.

Whitaker, bless him, grasps the essential Watergate truth, *pace* George Will, and does so with mordant wit: "The first President and Vice President to resign under fire in American history did so after making themselves hated by the national media and the new establishment to a degree almost unprecedented in this country's history. This could be coincidence. It could be that no presidential scandal, the Grant Administration, World War I contracts, Teapot Dome, Pearl Harbor, Alger Hiss, Truman's gangster and machine friendships among them, has ever been so tremendous as that of Watergate. . . . On its face, this seems unlikely."

Whitaker does not believe that the Republican Party will be the vehicle of protest against new-establishment outrage. They "are a party which has ceased to have any grassroots base at all . . . Democrats today, as in 1852, represent established power. Republicans, like the Whigs of 1852, represent a false opposition: narrow, timid commercial interests, only mildly opposed to the establishment in power."

That seems to me a perfectly apt description of Millard—oops, Gerald Ford. □

The Twilight of Capitalism
By Michael Harrington
Simon & Schuster, 446 pp., $10.95

HOW IS A MARXIST LIKE A PENGUIN?

IAN MAITLAND

It is an occupational disease on the Left to seize on every crisis of "capitalism" as an expression of underlying contradictions which will eventually consume it. Predictably, the recent recession brought out a rash of such prophecies, among them Michael Harrington's new book.

The task Harrington sets himself is to provide a fresh interpretation of Marx and to apply it to elucidating the "secret history" of capitalism's recent crises. Accordingly, over half his book is taken up with a close exegesis of Marxist texts. Readers should be warned that this is pretty esoteric fare, and those who stay the course are likely to feel somewhat like the youthful reviewer for the *New York Times* who complained that a book had told him more about penguins than he had wanted to know.

Harrington's Marx is an expurgated version, which is to say he is a Social Democrat. He has been purged of all his grosser mechanistic tendencies. But in the process of sanitizing him, Harrington has left Marx curiously bloodless and vacuous: Was he a determinist?

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Yes and no: he believed man is "the creature and creator of his circumstances." A materialist? He was a "spiritual materialist." Did he believe in the primacy of the economic factor? He believed it "suffuses—but does not determine—the entire society." Was he, in Popper's term, a "moral historicist"? He insisted on the "social relativity of morality" but also held a "quasi-absolute standard." Harrington's Marx lays no claim to a universal theory of history but merely advances certain tentative hypotheses about capitalism.

To make this version stick would tax the virtuosity of a Talmudic scholar, and the truth is that Marx keeps getting in Harrington's way—at points Harrington is driven to despair out loud at "the violence Marx does to his own thought." But Harrington perseveres because he is unwilling to do without the moral authority of Marx's intellectual system, dubious though that authority may be.

HARRINGTON'S argument is that the greatly enlarged role of the state in Western society has not altered that system's basically capitalist character, but has aggravated its natural propensity for crisis. In capitalism (i.e., wherever the economy is dominated by private institutions) the state is automatically co-opted by corporate interests. Harrington tries to show that the United States' vulnerability to foreign energy-suppliers was in large part the outcome of government favoritism to the large oil corporations, but he dodges the issue of whether a socialist government would have forgone the enormous cost-advantage of foreign oil. And his evidence for the proposition that the welfare state has been pressed into the service of corporate interests is strained: what possible corporate priority is served if whites make greater use of Medicaid than blacks, or New York than Alabama?

On a deeper level Harrington's book is intelligible less as another socialist manifesto than as a romantic assault on the technocratic values he feels are dominant in Western culture. He is especially severe on the mentality that enthrones economic criteria at the expense of social priorities—in Harrington's scheme the two are always antagonistic, never cooperative—a mentality characterized by terms such as profit, efficiency, productivity, the "flawed concept of the GNP," and so on. Capitalist culture is the expression *par excellence* of those values: it is only in capitalism that "the economic, as such, plays a decisive role in its own right." And he sees the prize of this culture, economic growth, as self-defeating, creating new needs in the process of satisfying old ones.

It should be remarked that a deep vein of cultural snobbery runs through Harrington's attack on economic values, as it does through much middle-class radicalism. After all, he is denouncing values shared by a large majority of the working class, and, what is more, he is calling them dupes for holding those values. This sort of socialism springs not from a sympathy for the worker and his aspirations but from a profound alienation from him.

In these pages "capitalism" is judged and found wanting by the standards of "democratic socialism," a concept which is realized in no contemporary society and which Harrington never analyzes. By insisting that the problems of capitalism are peculiar to it and by taking for granted its benefits, Harrington excuses himself from saying how his alternative would improve on its solutions. This book is unlikely to persuade anyone who is not already converted. □

A Man Called Intrepid:
The Secret War
By William Stevenson
Harcourt, 472 pp., $12.95

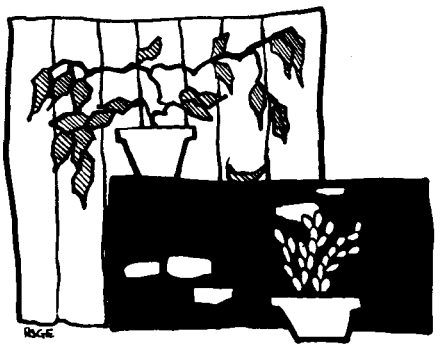
THE RETURN OF RICHARD HANNAY

STEVE OWNBEY

Footsteps. "Cynthia," the lovely American blonde spying for the British, is about to be caught in the Vichy embassy. Unless she can explain her presence, her mission will be compromised. Quickly, she strips off all her clothes and orders her male dupe to do the same. When the guard sees the naked girl, he retreats hastily and apologetically. Our heroine then puts on her slip and beckons the paroled safecracker who has been waiting outside.

It sounds contrived, comedy-relief sex in a spy novel, but it happened. And it's only about the fortieth most interesting detail in *A Man Called Intrepid*, which may well be the most fascinating non-fiction book of 1976.

"Intrepid," boss of the British espionage network before and during World War II, was Sir William Stephenson, air ace, radio pioneer, and wealthy co-founder of the BBC. Besides intelligence gathering and covert actions against the Nazis, his assignments include ploys, as intermediary between Roosevelt and Churchill even before the latter came to power, to bring the United States into the war.



Assuming the book is accurate (a judgment I'll have to leave to the experts), its historical importance is immense. Its core is the long suppressed but now famous story of the Ultra Secret (the cracking of the German code by use of the cipher machine called Enigma), but it encompasses such aspects of the early war years as the destroyer deal, the Battle of Britain, the sinking of the *Bismarck*, the assassination of Heydrich, and the escape of Niels Bohr.

Author William Stevenson (confusing, isn't it?) has a knack for the "shocks of doom" style of narration, but his book includes a lot of direct quotation, which occasionally fails to ring true. He has Sir William saying in 1940 that J. Edgar Hoover has run the FBI for nearly a quarter-century, which exaggerates by a decade, and we hear Cynthia opine that something "sounds kindergarten," although an American would say that it sounds *like* kindergarten. And it's hard to believe that even Churchill would have declared, in private conversation, "The sinews of war have become whispers in the ether."

If the author has any ethical misgivings about the President of the United States conspiring with a foreign private citizen, or about Sir William's organization owing its pre-war loyalty to Churchill rather than to Chamberlain,

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or about the British helping Roosevelt to outmaneuver his political opponents (especially Joe Kennedy) to win a third term, he conceals them well. In this book, Roosevelt and Churchill are, unambiguously, heroes whose methods were justified because they saw the Nazi threat clearly and saved us from it, despite naïve public opinion, an irresponsible Congress, and Chamberlain's incompetence. He makes an extremely convincing case for that viewpoint, but he does so partly by omission of complicating factors, such as Roosevelt's notorious blind spot about Stalin.

Cynthia, the *femme fatale* of this spy story, is much more intriguing than her fictional counterpart in Hitchcock's *Notorious*, but an even more unforgettable heroine is "Madeleine," the touchingly innocent writer of children's stories who was parachuted into occupied France to act as a radio-telegraphist with the underground and was eventually killed by the Gestapo. Her real name was Noor Inayat Khan; she was half American and half Indian, born in the Kremlin. She was exceptionally brave, but widely alleged in retrospect to have been unsuited for espionage. The author describes her as possessing such haunting beauty that she was suicidally conspicuous, but the several photos of her show only an earnest, moderately pretty young woman who, in left profile at a machine like the one she later refused to abandon, bears a startling, symbolic resemblance to Queen Elizabeth.

GIVEN THE terrible reality of Hitler's war on humanity, most of the actions attributed to British intelligence in this book are so understandable that only the most naïve would be shocked by them. However, there is one important exception to that generality. The author claims more than once that American or British traitors were murdered by British agents in the United States. This seems improbable, but if true, it is intolerable, and both Congress and the individual states should take steps to see that it never happens again.

However, not even such a serious objection should lessen our admiration for the thousands of men and women whose courage and patriotism are recorded in this book. Some of their names are amusingly familiar—Lester Pearson, Noël Coward, Ian Fleming, even Greta Garbo—and less familiar names such as William Friedman, Colin Gubbins, and Alastair Denniston receive overdue recognition, but most will be forever anonymous. As Intrepid himself says in a moving foreword, "Those who are named in this narrative are but a few of the vast hidden army to whom the free world owes a debt that cannot be repaid." □

FICTION

The Assassins
By Joyce Carol Oates
Vanguard, 568 pp., $8.95

THINKING MAN'S BREAKFAST

PATRICIA S. COYNE

The Joyce Carol Oates phenomenon has begun to jangle the nervous system of the literary establishment. Her name, once mentioned with reverence among the literati, is now increasingly spoken in jest. Her problem, imply the critics, is that she writes too much.

A work of art, these days, from conception to birth, must be years in the making. But Oates populates the literary world with a new one every nine months, and the critical feeling seems to be that if she can produce offspring as easily as an Irish washerwoman, then what she does can't be that good after all. As a result, *The Assassins* has caused only a minor literary stir. Had it taken three or four years to write the very same novel, however, I am convinced that it would have been greeted with boundless critical enthusiasm.

Consider, for instance, the plot.

The Assassins is essentially the story of how the assassination of a dangerously charismatic conservative politician-intellectual affects his widow and his two brothers. The man has been murdered for reasons perhaps political, perhaps personal, or perhaps non-existent. (The book promises the answer but never delivers.) The three survivors are tormented and destroyed by the assassination and by the memory of the man who was killed. Hugh, the older brother, ends his section of the book by standing up and shooting himself in a downtown New York restaurant. Yvonne, the widow, is shot and dismembered by apparently motiveless axe-wielding strangers. And Stephan, the younger brother and a religious mystic, finishes up with "the new knowledge that, from now on, even God must be repudiated."

A story line, in short, that should dazzle any with-it contemporary critic, as should the novel's theme and structure.

"Why insist upon chronological experience?" asks Hugh near the beginning of the book; obviously, he is speaking for the author herself, who certainly does not thus insist, but who flirts with time very artfully indeed, darting back and forth, in and out, yet always skillfully holding together the particularities. And she flirts with reality as well, offering differing and conflicting perceptions of shared experiences in a way which adds somehow, not only to the action, but to the characters themselves.

These are not, of course, new literary devices. And they are not devices which I generally admire. My reasons here are personal. Life has tended to present itself to me in chronological order, and there has been little if any ambiguity surrounding the occurrence of portentously significant situations. I am rarely enamored of novels which haphazardly deny my own perceptions of life.

NEVERTHELESS, when Oates writes this way I feel genuine admiration, for I can say with near-total conviction that her style reflects her own instinctive and automatic perception of human experience. That style has not been painfully contrived with an eye toward literary fashion, as is often the case with her peers. There has been no time. Her last book of short stories was published in March, and this novel is nearly six hundred pages long. And yet she has contrived it perfectly. When her critics suggest querulously that she slow down and rewrite, I cannot imagine what they have in mind. Stylistically, she is irreproachable.

Having said that, however, I still find myself troubled by the central Oatesian failing, a failure of vision. I may be on shaky ground here—certainly most contemporary critics would say so. If, after all, the woman's perception of the universe is that it is ultimately senseless, chaotic, and demented, then we can hardly ask her to write us sane and rational novels. Shaky ground indeed, even when we label that perception a

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defect, for the modern novel has been encouraged to move so far down the path of obsessional derangement that any attempt to herd it back up would be as silly as asking a contemporary double-knit politician to adopt the programs and mannerisms of Calvin Coolidge.

And if I were called upon to criticize the modern novel for the path it is taking, I would certainly not begin with Joyce Carol Oates; for, again, unlike so many of her faddish contemporaries, when she shows the universe to be maniacally malign, she seems really to mean it. In contrast to, say, a Pynchon novel, an Oates work leaves the impression that the author honestly sees nothing in the scheme of things to prevent her from being arbitrarily hacked to death, as is Yvonne in *The Assassins*. Literary trends and the Oatesian vision have happily collided, creating, if not great art, at least the genuine article.

In a recent Peter De Vries novel, a playful PR man was asked to come up with a name for a new cereal to be marketed as "the thinking man's breakfast."

His suggestion: "Joyce Carol Oates."

Just a wisecrack. But if the thinking man were to have an early morning taste for dementia, as so many of them do these days, he could sustain himself quite nicely on Joyce Carol Oates. Not only is she a veritable cornucopia of that sort of nourishment, but she is also completely natural—no chemicals or additives. She's the real thing. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

OLD FACES OF 1976, *by Richard Reeves (Harper, 228 pp., $10).* Perhaps you are of that disappearing species that loves and reveres politicians. If so, you will loathe Reeves's collection of essays on such "old faces" as Ford, Wallace, Reagan, Muskie, and Humphrey. However, not many of us love politicians any more, and Reeves is a cheeky and engaging observer of the passing political show. I do not myself think Reeves, the celebrated freelance reporter, is the super-pundit that so many make him out to be. But how deftly he shoves in the stiletto! As a presidential candidate in 1972, Scoop Jackson was "as dull as most people thought he was . . . " Jerry Ford talks of " 'that great Russian writer' because he can't pronounce Solzhenitsyn—he has trouble pronouncing or defining anything or anybody east of Portland, Maine, or west of Portland, Oregon." The book has no overall theme save, perhaps, that politicians ought to go away and leave us alone—which, damn their eyes, they won't do. With fine impartiality Reeves doles out his strictures to liberals and conservatives alike. Interestingly, Senator James L. Buckley emerges in better shape than almost anyone; "an honest man," Reeves calls him, though far too keen on conservative principle to succeed. Reeves is not a thorough-going cynic. He maintains that "people are not as stupid as politicians think they are." Well, that's a relief, anyway. WILLIAM MURCHISON

THE BROTHERS REUTHER AND THE STORY OF THE UAW, *by Victor G. Reuther (Houghton Mifflin, 523 pp., $16.95).* Joining the Brothers Grimm in the realm of fantasy is this apologia for the consistently most powerful and successful union in America. Its author is the survivor of the fraternal triumvirate—Victor, Roy, and Walter—whose careers, for decades, were inseparable from the life of the United Auto Workers. Although Victor represents the literary talent of the Reuther clan, his memoir starves for want of a good editor. The breaches of factual truth and sound writing are frequent and frustrating. (The most humorous is his reference to this journal as "*National Republic.*") Reading this book is like being trapped in a time machine gone batty, as the author nonchalantly hopscotches through the years with no sense of chronology. To read Mr. Reuther, one would think that there was no such thing as intelligent and principled opposition to some of the excesses of the labor movement: indeed, one would think that there have been no such excesses. His treatment of the resisters of that movement is so brutal as to make the anti-Goldwater commercials of 1964 appear to be paragons of truthful integrity. The book's sole virtue lies in its description of the tightly knit Reuther family, and in the glimpses it gives us of the closeness in which that family sought refuge during its myriad troubles, such as the senseless shootings of Walter and Victor in the late 1940s. Basically, however, Reuther takes too long to say too little, too thoughtlessly and too predictably. ALLEN G. WEAKLAND

INTERVIEW WITH THE VAMPIRE, *by Anne Rice (Knopf, 372 pp., $8.95).* Several seasons back, when publishers, movie companies, and the media were rediscovering the supernatural and the occult, a number of Dracula- and vampire-inspired books appeared, including McNally and Florescu's scholarly history, *In Search of Dracula*, and Leonard Wolf's quirky and pretentious *A Dream of Dracula*. What was most conspicuous and puzzling about such volumes was the seriousness with which the authors approached their subject. Instead of having some fun with it, they tried, fruitlessly, to give it complexity and significance. That same solemnity runs through much of Anne Rice's first novel, and it is one of the reasons why her tale of a 200-year-old vampire from Louisiana becomes tedious. Louis, the vampire narrator, relates his history with great and often unintentionally silly intensity, focusing on one blood-sucking session after another. Every so often he will record a meditative, reflective conversation between himself and an "undead" companion—his savage mentor, Lestat, or Claudia, the lovely child vampire. Somehow the high-minded, philosophical interludes contrast too sharply with the low-brow, B-movie horror. The reader is more inclined to laugh them off than to use them as guides to the metaphors possibly contained within the tale. Had we had a deeper sense of Louis, we might have been able to believe his story was as important as the author obviously does. And perhaps if the author had varied her structure and technique more, she might have avoided the deadening stylistic predictability that mars her book. Though the novel does have some effective scenes, the repeated blood-sucking quickly wearies the reader, like a vampire-oriented *That's Entertainment.*

RONALD DE FEO

THE INVISIBLE PRIMARY, *by Arthur T. Hadley (Prentice-Hall, 317 pp., $10.95).* In the burlesque that is our political process, the presidential primary has come to be the quintessential striptease. As the candidates bump and grind their way from state to state, they wrap their operations in glitter and present them with a clever choreography designed to dazzle audiences; this footwork has become so slick of late that it may eventually render the nominating conventions anti-climactic bores. Hadley maintains that the race for the White House has developed into a continuous spectacle: no sooner is the election completed than another scramble begins. Accordingly, he began to track the contestants for the "invisible primary" on November 8, 1972, when Senator Percy purchased the services of a campaign firm. Any successful show requires organization, rehearsals, and a bankroll: since the new election law is so sticky about the latter, it becomes essential to launch a shakedown cruise to see if the showboat will float. Notwithstanding the over 350 public relations firms currently specializing in politicians, most of these ventures run aground. Although Hadley's thesis is interesting, his forte is observation. His keen nose for balderdash and his irreverent sense of the absurd make this book a must. A sample of Hadley's wit is apropos. Covering the darling of the populists, he recalls the allegations that Gulf had slipped Fred Harris a sizable contribution in 1964. Hadley reminds us that despite his inveighing against the oil interests, Senator Harris subsequently voted, not only to restore but to increase the depletion allowance. The author purrs, "Maybe, as he claimed, he hadn't been bought; but the suspicion remained that he might have been rented." ALAN L. MILLER

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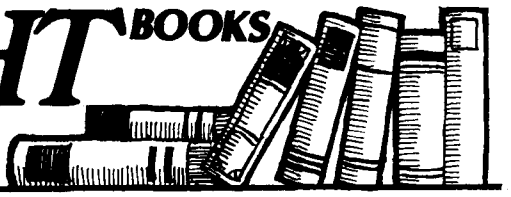
THE RIGHT BOOKS



M. STANTON EVANS

I BEGIN this review with a confession of bias. I am a fan of the author, long devoted to his irreverent newsletter, *Access to Energy*. This monthly survey of energy and environmental issues routinely deflates the pretensions of our twentieth century Luddites while providing as much by way of solid information as one is likely to encounter outside the confines of the *Statistical Abstract*.

When Petr Beckmann set his hand to writing a book about nuclear energy, therefore, I expected a treat, and *The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear* (Golem Press, $5.95) does not disappoint. Beckmann, a professor of electrical engineering at the University of Colorado, has written a vivid technical primer *cum* political polemic concerning the safety, cost, and practicability of the peaceful atom. It is at once a useful handbook on nuclear basics and a biting refutation of the Naderites, Sierra-Clubbers, and other technophobes among us.

What Beckmann says, essentially, is that just about everything the Nader types have told us on the subject of *peaceful* nuclear power is wrong. Atomic reactors, to take the obvious for-instance, cannot blow up and destroy our cities. It is not only that multiple safeguards have been implanted in the system (which they have), but that the complex components required for an atomic explosion simply do not exist in a peaceful nuclear reactor. That argument is a total phony.

Ditto for the alleged hazards of radiation from such reactors (0.003 millirems per year, compared to the 250 received from other, mostly natural, sources, and the 500 that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission defines as the allowable dose). Mile-high ecologists in Colorado receive an extra 35 to 100 millirems a year from cosmic radiation simply by *being* in Colorado—thousands of times the minuscule radiation they might absorb from a reactor. The argument from radioactivity is only slightly less absurd than that from nuclear blow-up.

Beckmann provides a wealth of documentation on such points, including data on the natural radiation received from food, and soil, and human bodies ("when the antinuclear fanatics hold a meeting, they receive more radiation from each other than they would from a nuclear reactor"). He does the same for other controverted matters such as economic feasibility (the atom is the cheapest source of energy), and waste disposal ("the volume produced by one person's annual share of the total U.S. output is that of a single aspirin tablet").

The author does not suggest that nuclear power is devoid of problems or dangers, but rather that it has less of both than any possible alternative. Atomic energy is such a concentrated form of power, and so antiseptic in its workings, that there are immensely fewer social costs of every kind in extracting and using it per unit of produced electricity than there are with coal, petroleum, natural gas, hydroelectricity, or solar energy.

FOCUSING ON the safety question, Beckmann writes that there have been hundreds of reactor-years of peaceful nuclear experience with no associated deaths we know of. But thousands of people have been killed by collapsing dams, coal mine disasters, petroleum and natural gas explosions. A blow-up of a single tanker containing liquid natural gas is statistically more likely (and more deadly) than any conceivable accident from peaceful nuclear power.

Despite all this, the political crusade against atomic power goes on—and on. Beckmann's book is no less useful for its understanding of the strange political mind-set at work here and its apparent determination to close off all possible sources of energy, than for its luminous treatment of the technical issues. He understands the enemies of energy, indeed, much better than they understand themselves. The result is an instructive, entertaining book that deserves the widest possible audience. □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[JOHN D.] LOFTON:

On Compromises.

Compromise is not really a political philosophy at all, it is the absence of a philosophy, an idea born not of wisdom but of confusion or fear or both. A position halfway between right and wrong is not a position at all.

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GUNNARSON

(Continued from page 952)

Mathematical Treatment

From our model, it is obvious that tax stimulation is a function of liberal sentiment, or, stated mathematically:

$$T = AS_l$$

where T = tax
A = a proportionality constant
S_l = liberal sentiment

Differentiating and integrating, we obtain:

$$T = T_o L_{nj} e^{AL_{nj}t}$$

where T_o = tax before Roosevelt
L_{nj} = number of liberals in Congress
t = time

Thus we are led to the interesting result that tax is an exponential function of the number of liberals in Congress. An important result. We translate this into Fortran IV, the language of the high-speed electronic computer, and obtain the following:

1. KNTH GLBTH TK NX
2. & GV MLT FRDMN 40 WX

We take our HEW data, and "plug it in and crank it out," as the engineers say, leading us to the following:

$$HM = HM_o e^{AL_{nj}t}$$

What does it mean? This interesting formula simply means that *all human misery is caused by liberals in Congress!* Astounding? Not really. Merely a practical demonstration of sound economic principles. I believe it to be an important result in that it exposes the widely held fallacy that liberals solve problems rather than cause them.

These results are the essence to be gleaned from the tax stimulation model.

I can only hope that I have succeeded in presenting an account that is both entertaining and illuminating. Perhaps some will have a new understanding, and perhaps even a few young people—who are the hope of this nation—will be stimulated into entering the study of economics. □

MUHLEN

(Continued from page 955)

France, possibly Spain and Portugal—they can perceive, if dimly, a future takeover of Europe.

Whether these Communist parties should be admitted as junior partners in a Popular Front is an open question among SPD members split between "social democrats" and "socialists," the current code words, respectively, for the reformist and revolutionary wings that have struggled within the party for more than a hundred years. The "Euro-Communist" propaganda has considerably strengthened the Popular Fronters in the SPD, but resistance to it among other voters could strengthen the opposition parties (CDU and CSU).

Absent topical issues, many voters look at the election as a choice between Helmut Schmidt, the Chancellor, and his CDU-CSU challenger, Helmut Kohl. The Helmuts are the products of different generations: 57-year-old Helmut Schmidt lived through the Nazi era (he was a minor Hitler Youth leader and a Luftwaffe officer); Kohl, 11 years his junior, is a product of the Federal Republic. In high school, Kohl helped found the CDU's youth auxiliary, the opposite number of the Socialist Students' Association whose then-leader was, as chance would have it, the other Helmut. Schmidt has been a prominent politician in Bonn since 1953, shifting with the prevailing political winds. Kohl has operated in his native Rhineland-Palatinate, a traditional CDU preserve, where, as governor, he made his mark as a consistent and successful moderate conservative. Schmidt comes across as an efficient, skillful, achievement-oriented manager: he is often abrasive, tends toward magisterial arrogance, is cool, calculating and effective, a pragmatist. Kohl exudes warmth though not necessarily strength, trustworthiness but not charisma; he is forward-looking rather than obsessed with the problems of the day. He has yet to overcome an air of provincialism, while Schmidt can pass for schoolmaster to the world, telling the French, the Italians, even the Americans, how to run their economies and their countries. Admittedly, it's not an easy choice. The same people who find Kohl appealing, find Schmidt impressive.

Observers expect a close race, with the CDU gaining slightly, the SPD losing slightly, but these losses could be outweighed by the gains of the FDP, the SPD's junior partner. With the ruling coalition and the opposition running nose to nose, the new "Fourth Party," out to collect CDU members dissatisfied with its moderate course and SPD members unhappy about Ostpolitik, could, with 1 to 2 per cent of the vote, grab the balance of power. Most Germans see this October's election as a curtain-raiser for more decisive later contests. □

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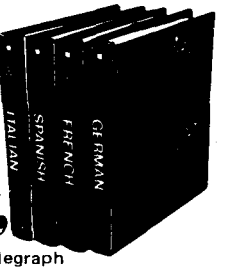

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Reagan Yes, Schweiker No?

On The Right

New York, August 4—The first item on the news over the radio this morning is that the New York State Young Americans for Freedom have met and resolved to support the nomination of Ronald Reagan, but to oppose Richard Schweiker as his running-mate. This also is the position of Congressman Robert Bauman of Maryland. It is a position which deserves to be treated as something more than mere pique. And, in the days ahead, it may rise into prominence as the crystallizing sentiment of Reagan backers. The implications of this position are complex and fascinating:

1. In the first place, we are reminded that there is no such thing as an absolute right of a candidate to designate his running-mate. If there were, then Mr. Ford's hold over the Presidency would not have that slight feeling of illegitimacy that now encumbers it. Mr. Ford is thought of as not-quite-a-President for the simple reason that he was never confirmed by a Republican Convention. If the Convention confirmation were constitutionally perfunctory, then it would not have mattered that Gerald Ford was merely the designee of Richard Nixon. He would have had the equivalent backing, even as now Rockefeller would be considered legitimately the Vice President.

2. Reagan has said, three weeks before the Convention was scheduled to meet, that he would endorse Schweiker. Reagan's critics among conservatives are getting around, however slowly, to sorting out two questions which, in the original confusion, were made to sound like one. The first point is, Do they or do they not prefer Reagan as presidential candidate over Ford? That is one discrete question. The second is: Are they willing to go along with Reagan's electoral strategy by naming Schweiker as vice presidential candidate? The answer to the first may be a resounding Yes; the answer to the second may be a resounding No. Ronald Reagan hasn't said, after all, that he will not accept nomination for President unless he is pre-assured that the Convention will nominate Schweiker. He has gone no further than to say that he will designate Schweiker as his first choice. That there should be so much resistance to Schweiker tends to magnify the importance of the Convention as a body of men brought together to exercise, subject to their mandates—and there are none respecting the choice of Vice President—their own judgment.

3. A repudiation of Schweiker at the same Convention that nominated Reagan would certainly be unusual, but then during the past two or three seasons American politics has been specializing in the unusual. It would be a way of saying to the Republic: We desire to put our best foot forward, and he is Ronald Reagan; as regards Mr. Schweiker, it is our opinion that he has a great deal to learn about Republican principles before he can lay claim to the second spot on the ticket. Any such statement, sent out from Kansas City to the rest of America, runs grave risks of antagonizing those whose principles are akin to Schweiker's. But let us not forget that it is a course of action open to the Convention.

4. Suppose a movement of this sort should develop. Would it affect the enthusiasm with which Mr. Schweiker is now devoting himself to rounding up delegates for Reagan? Might he conclude that Reagan is welshing on his part of the bargain? But he could not reasonably expect that Reagan would take time from the solicitation of favor with the uncommitted delegates in order to lobby for his vice presidential choice. Reagan would be entitled to conclude that if the Convention rejected Schweiker, given the presumptive right of a nominee to name his own running-mate, then there is nothing for it but to yield, even as Presidents are occasionally required to yield when they nominate people to their Cabinets. □

THE AFTERBIRTH

New York, August 6—It is interesting how useful politicians find it to express themselves on matters of principle. Ronald Reagan advertises his intention to nominate a domestic liberal as his Vice President, and is denounced for breach of principle. Breach of principle is here defined as the acknowledgment that there are many Republicans and other Americans whose views in certain areas fall to the left of one's own. Whereupon John Connally (a man I greatly admire) suddenly discovers that Gerald Ford would be the "better candidate" and endorses him. Mr. Connally manages to give the impression that he has been in communion with the Lord Almighty lo these many months, attempting to decide which of the two men is the better candidate for President. With a single move, Reagan convinced him—that Ford was the stronger candidate. Cool observers must be permitted to conclude that John Connally reasoned not that Mr. Ford would be the better candidate, but that he would be the candidate named in Kansas City. That is why he came out for Ford. The Thomists call that "sufficient reason."

Clarke Reed (a man I greatly like) rose up through the ranks of Southern Republicanism as a conservative of the new school, here defined as a conservative who actually reads books and reacts other than viscerally in arriving at his public positions. Reed promised time and again that he would stand by Reagan, whose positions on most public matters are Reed's own. The pressures on Reed, to give him his due, were awful. It isn't easy to arrive at the point of having to tell your secretary not to take any more calls from the President of the United States. Still, the fact is he crumbled. And it is unreasonable to suppose that he did so for reasons other than John Connally's. After all, he was beginning to wobble before

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anybody ever heard of Schweiker. Which leaves us with the following summary: Clarke Reed, objecting to Reagan's lack of principle in naming a liberal Vice President, affirmed his own devotion to principle by rejecting the candidate to whom he had pledged his support, in favor of the candidate who selected *his* liberal Vice President two years ago. It is hard to say how the cause of principle is being served by those who in its name are denying the Republican Party the chance to field a candidate who can convincingly articulate conservative principles.

THE IRONIES shine through the situation. It cannot, I think, be persuasively contended that, against Mr. Carter, Mr. Ford would do better than Ronald Reagan. Surveying the general chaos, Mr. Carter issued a wonderfully cool statement to the effect that he thought Schweiker was a very good man. In doing so, he inflamed the resentment of Schweiker by disappointed Reaganites; and, in so doing, strengthened the hand of the adversary he hopes to be contending against in the election campaign. Mr. Alton Frye, of the Council on Foreign Relations, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, is jubilant about the political effect of Mr. Reagan's maneuver. Look what has happened! he says. By saying he would accept a liberal running-mate, Reagan has knocked himself out. But in doing so, he has revalidated the very idea of a liberal running-mate. And this means that President Ford can take as *his* Vice President not a conservative like Connally or Reagan, but a truly qualified candidate, like Percy or Mathias. In other words, Reagan has, however inadvertently, performed a valuable public service.

Clearly it is not going according to plan for the Reagan people. Senator Schweiker hasn't come forward with the names of the delegates whose concern for the elevation of Senator Schweiker was to have led them into Reagan's camp. We do not know, as of now, whether they are intimidated, or whether they were always illusory. All we are given, at the moment, is the spectacle of conservatives assuaging their pique at having to live in the real world by ushering in the Presidency of Jimmy Carter. It seems ages ago, and of no apparent concern to them, that Carter announced as his choice for a running-mate, Walter Mondale. □

THE STRENUOUS LIFE

New York, August 9—I am among the millions of Americans who were hit as by the force of revelation by a stricture of Mr. Eisenhower's doctor, who lifted his famous patient from the bowels of despair after the President was struck down in Denver in 1955. Dr. Paul Dudley White bicycled in from Boston, took over, and issued daily medical bulletins and an occasional homily. The one that changed my life offered me great strategic serenity in exchange for immediate and quotidian mini-tortures. In order to lead a long and healthy life, said Dr. White one day to the reporters, you must observe three rules: 1) stop smoking cigarettes; 2) do not permit yourself to weigh more than you did when 25 years old; and 3) exercise strenuously.

It was bad enough giving up cigarettes, but eventually the pains of withdrawal cease. Holding down your weight becomes increasingly difficult as you get older, but you can still permit yourself day-long, and even week-long orgies in between the burgeoning fasts. It is the physical exercise that is the endless spirit-crusher. Day after day. I live in mortal terror that science will establish, when I am about seventy years old, that I might have survived by doing 25, instead of the thirty, push-ups I do every day, in dutiful memory of Paul Dudley White. These I supplement with one hour, most weeks, in a gymnasium; and recently, in order to avoid the jogging my accountant, Dr. White's St. Paul, insisted was indispensable, I bought an indoor bicycle, and when I rise from my morning reading, grim-faced and resolute, I propel myself to the machine for another bout of what I call my daily mortification of the flesh.

Now a concomitant torture of physical exercise, most of us would agree, is the boredom a relief from which it is all but impossible to find. Iron-willed folk like Senator William Proxmire can, while jogging to work, concentrate on ways to pare down the military budget. John C. Calhoun, it is recorded, went from plowing his field to transcribing at his desk, as fast as he could write it out, the speech he had composed while working the soil. All I ever managed, on those few occasions when I jogged, was to concentrate on what a miserable form of self-punishment jogging is. But with the indoor bicycle, I reasoned, I might achieve distraction by watching television. Which is how it came to be that some time after nine this morning I found myself listening for six and one-half minutes—that is to say, the time required for three miles of indoor bicycling at approx. 27 mph, the resistance spring set to medium-high—to a lady called Pat Collins, interviewing Eartha Kitt on the subject (I gather) of a book by Miss Kitt. I arrived some time after Miss Kitt began answering Miss Collins' questions, and it turns out, one gathers, that Miss Kitt is continuingly indignant at Lyndon Johnson's indignation over an episode in 1968. I dimly remember it, but the ladies refreshed my recollection (as the lawyers put it), and what happened was that at a White House reception, suddenly Miss Kitt decided to give a speech denouncing Lyndon Johnson for his Vietnam policies. Thereafter, it appears, she lost a lot of business—hotels ceased booking her, club dates fell off, that kind of thing.

Collins: "Would you do it again, under the circumstances?"

Kitt: "Yes, I would. I believe that I was expressing my right of protest."

THERE IS, of course, no "right" to accept an invitation to the White House, seize the mike once there, and deliver a lecture on the superiority of your views on foreign policy over against those of your host. Perhaps Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas didn't hire her to sing for fear that Miss Kitt might decide to bring along her right to protest and deliver a speech to her audience rather than, say, "Mood Indigo," or whatever she sings. Well, it turns out—says Miss Kitt—that Johnson ordered the FBI and the CIA to investigate her, and they did, and compiled a dossier on her which, said Kitt, among other things reported that in the description of one informer she was a "sadistic nymphomaniac." Kitt and Collins both laughed, and Collins said it's funny how much emphasis the FBI and the CIA put on sex lives. "Could it be because they don't have any?" The girls giggled, but didn't appear to take comfort from the corollary, which is that if it is so, future generations of Americans will be spared Sons of FBI and CIA. At that precise moment, my milometer hit the three-mile mark, so this story has to end. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Would this place in Iowa be an Indian lawyer's paradise?
24 98 117 191 [illegible] 136 177 164 175

B. Negroes in Haiti who practice a certain religion
176 57 81 157 11[illegible] 128 224 50 93 35

C. High-flown dictions
199 193 11 122 20[illegible] 125 100 215 210

D. A Pacific island discovered many years ago
225 123 168 47

E. City west of Versailles, once a countship
30 218 138 170 6[illegible]

F. Small kneeling benches used for prayer
71 163 179 16 9[illegible] 131 203 195 139

G. A defect in certain dogs and horses that might make them feel sheepish
78 26 53 102 15[illegible] 127 146

H. These are definitely express routes
223 37 208 214 2[illegible] 56 116 19 142 101
132

I. Old French coins
2 95 9 18

J. Part of the name of a large publishing house
150 222 135 172 18[illegible] 70

K. What the well-dressed person might wear at night
194 234 3 36 12 182 171 39 45 149
87 140

L. Many baseball games are a *Comedy of* —
232 104 54 85 15[illegible] 181

M. What often happens to Americans' property abroad
88 4 33 79 9[illegible] 111 120 174 186 14
65 25 137 148 166

N. A *little grimace*
144 83 189 73

O. Southern expression used by Mark Antony and Paul (in translation)
55 58 64 69 8[illegible] 15

P. What a colorful man might be named
161 60 118 46

Q. Felipe, Jesus, y Mateo
51 72 80 90 211 219 43 115 20 40
48 63

R. Could these officers sublet?
156 91 134 38 160 169 187 196 198 221
10

S. Used one's wings
75 230 216 206

T. Dances which billiard players might attend
213 62 147 41 153 233 29 106

U. Song that a Floridian might sing to a drinking husband: "_____sorry you made me cry?
32 17 105 129 167 204 22 34 94 178
212

V. Look out for this form of transportation in a Tennessee metropolis
103 77 8 42 124 141 155 159 183 205
110 220 126

W. What omniscient opponents of a pre-Civil War party might have been called
44 5 82 200 96 133 145 197 229 92

X. A senator from Vermont, 1866-1891
49 151 158 184 192 209 109

Y. A tree or shrub of the genus *Cornus*
112 84 226 227 165 207 185

Z. People who stand in line
201 23 67 173 162 119 190

a. A German conjunction
12 31 59

b. What newsmen conduct
7 61 76 108 114 52 217 228 231 1

c. People who study animal life
13 21 27 66 74 89 107 130 143 180

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 968 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

			1 B	2 I	3 K		4 M	5 W	6 A	7 B	8 V	9 I	10 R		11 C	12 A	13 C	14 M	15 O
16 F	17 U	18 I		19 H	20 Q	21 C		22 U	23 Z	24 A	25 M		26 G	27 C	28 H	29 T	30 E		31 A
32 U	33 M		34 V	35 B	36 K		37 H	38 R	39 K	40 Q		41 T	42 V	43 Q	44 W	45 K		46 P	47 D
48 Q	49 X	50 B		51 Q		52 B	53 G	54 L	55 O		56 H	57 B	58 O	59 A		60 P	61 B	62 T	63 Q
64 O	65 M	66 C		67 Z	68 E	69 O	70 J	71 P	72 Q	73 N		74 C	75 S		76 B	77 V	78 G		79 M
80 Q	81 B	82 W	83 N	84 Y	85 L		86 O	87 K	88 M	89 C	90 Q	91 R	92 W	93 B	94 U	95 I		96 W	97 F
98 A	99 M	100C	101H	102G	103V	104L	105U	106T	107C	108B	109X		110V	111M	112Y		113B	114B	115R
116H	117	118F	119Z	120M	121K	122C	123D	124V		125C	126V	127G	128B	129U	130C	131F	132H	133W	134R
135J	136A	137M	138E	139F		140K	141V	142H	143C		144N	145W	146G	147T		148M	149K	150J	
151X	152G	153T	154L		155V	156R	157B		158X	159V	160R	161P	162Z	163F		164A	165Y	166M	167U
168D	169R		170E	171K	172J	173Z	174M	175A		176B	177A	178U	179F	180C	181L	182K	183V	184X	185Y
186M	187R	188J	189N	190Z		191A	192X	193C	194K	195F	196R	197W		198R	199C	200W		201Z	202C
203F	204U	205V		206S	207Y	208H	209X	210C		211Q	212U	213T	214H	215C	216S		217B	218E	219C
220V	221R	222J	223H	224B	225D	226Y		227Y	228B	229W	230S		231B	232L	233T	234K			

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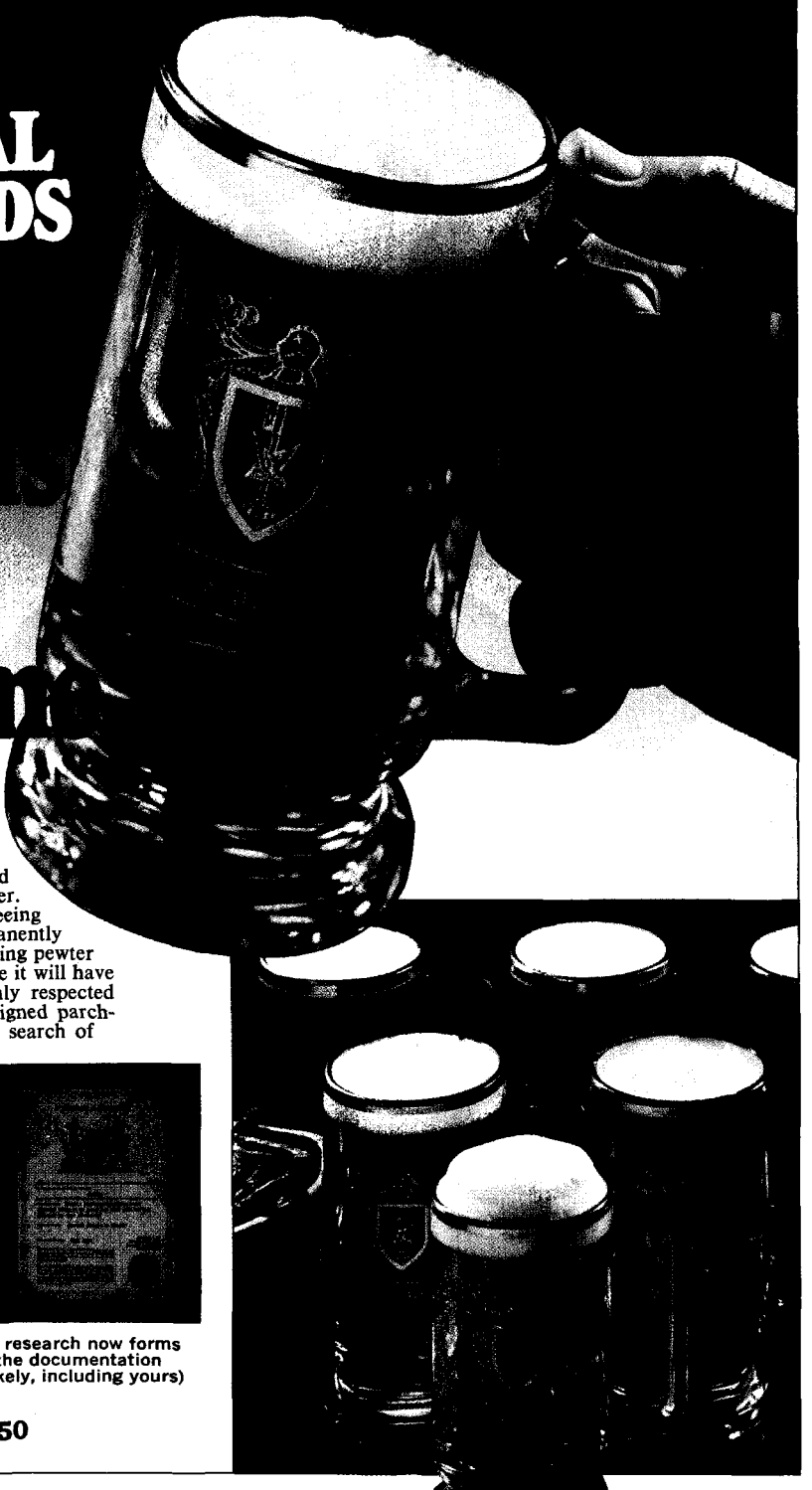

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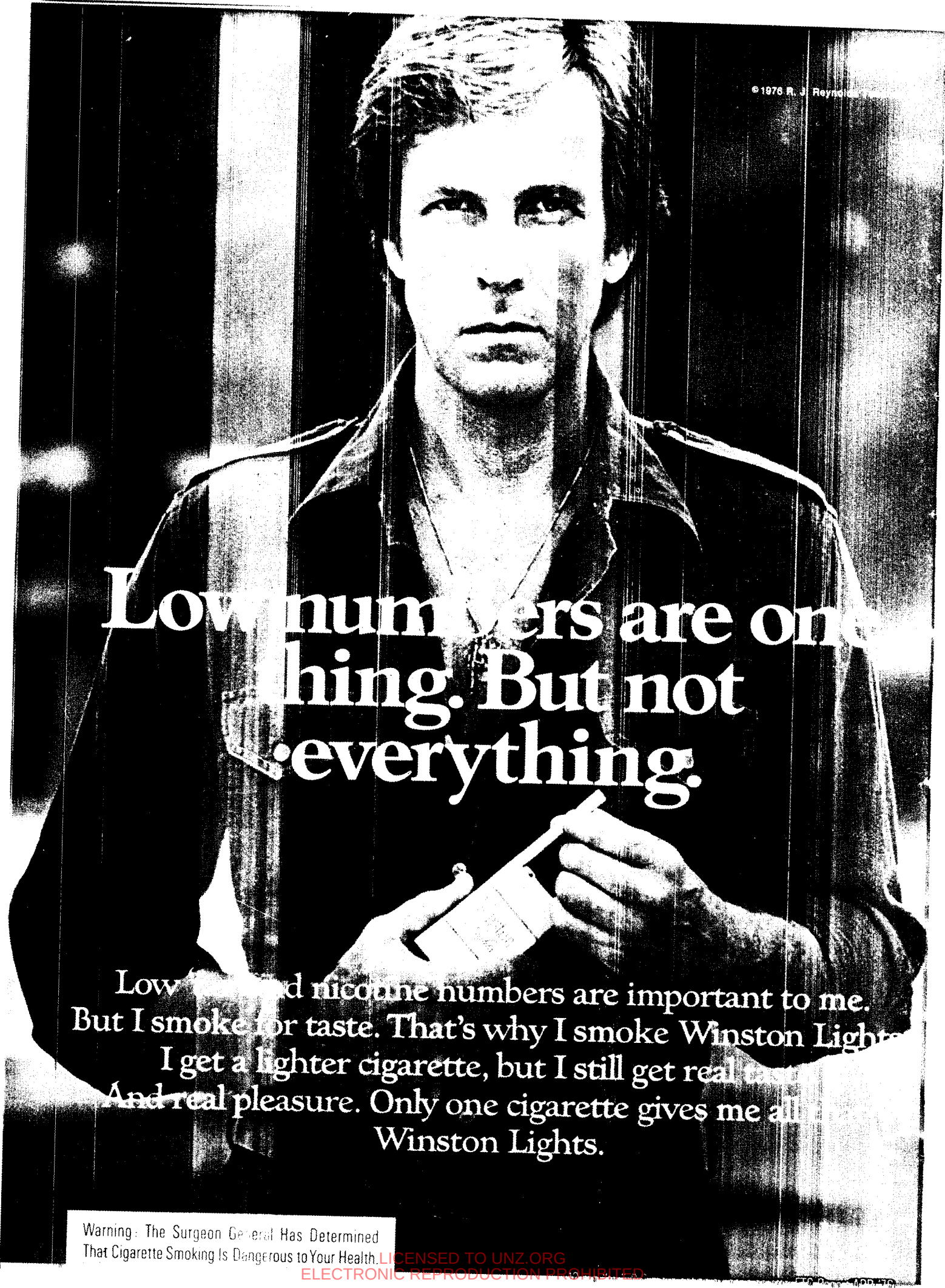
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